

THE WHOLE PERSON IN MIND, &c.

Sketch

Deep down, Enoch liked to rock'n'roll



Simon Hoggart

RECALL a lunch with Enoch Powell and some colleagues a few years ago. He stared glumly at the menu, then ordered tripe and onions. "We shall be talking tripe, so I might as well eat it too," he said, in that tone of voice which made Enoch sound like Dale Winton.

This was during the period of the last Labour government before the present one. Some people thought that Powell's implicit endorsement of Harold Wilson, who had promised a referendum on Europe, had defeated the Tories.

He himself had no doubt. "I look upon the government benches as a man might look upon his children," he said.

"You might not like them very much, but you cannot escape responsibility for their existence."

The meal ended and I was sent to help pick up his coat and show him out. "I am very glad that you are with me. I am very relieved that you are with me," he said (he often spoke in pairs of sentences, like matched candlesticks), and I suddenly remembered that the woman in the cloakroom was black. Would there be a scene? Would he tell her to go back to where she came from? Of course not; he had no change and needed a 50p tip. But I expect he had enjoyed the mild pleasure of winding me up.

He seemed to exist on two levels. Half of him was always hovering above any conversation he was involved in, watching other people reacting to him as if only his corporate being was present. Another colleague once described how he had told Powell an anecdote about the former Speaker, George Thomas. Powell had interrupted and shown how it could not possibly be true. "There you go, Enoch, spoiling a perfectly good story," my colleague complained.

"But I have not spoiled it," said Powell. "Next time you tell it, you can cap it." And then Enoch said: "...and it will be a much better story."

He wasn't an egomaniac so much as a solipsist; he genuinely believed that the world spun around him. In the late Sixties and early Seventies there was little in the press to disabuse him of this belief. He was a demented romantic. Was he a racist too? Not really — except that he was clearly delighted when racist dockers marched in his support. In his notion of England we were still all standing round forest clearings with spears and axes, waiting to see off the Romans, or else we were sturdy yeoman farmers eating roast beef and speaking the language of Shakespeare.

It was a misty, unreal vision, and of course it didn't include ethnic minorities — or rather ethnic minorities who weren't Celts or Picts or Jutes. He didn't hate coloured people; he just thought they should be back in their own clearings, worshipping their own tribal gods.

The austerity, the black clothing he wore (three-piece suits at the height of the hottest summers), the slow, hypnotic Black Country accent — all served to conceal a man who raged with emotions like any testosterone-crazed teenager.

Recently he cried on TV remembering a woman he had admired — 50 years before. The alleged remorseless logic was really a Jesuitical ability to find an intellectual justification for a passionate irrational belief.

I once met him in a television green room. Another guest on the same programme was Bill Haley of Rock Around The Clock, who was beginning what turned out to be his final tour of Britain.

A young researcher, hideously embarrassed, was given the job of introducing the two men who, one might have assumed, had nothing whatever in common. Haley had no idea who his new friend was. "Pleased cha' meet ya, Mr Pole," he said politely.

"And I pleased to meet you," said Powell. "I have always wanted to meet you." And suddenly one had this vision of him in a D.A. hairdo, in a drape jacket and crêpe soles, jiving by the juke box.

Review

Shut your eyes and think of Mozart

Tim Ashley

Così fan tutte/Scottish Opera
Theatre Royal, Glasgow

EXPLOSIVE operatic finales, appropriate or otherwise, have become strangely fashionable. Last week at ENO, Donizetti's *Elisir d'Amore* ended with the statue of an unnamed totalitarian dictator being blasted to bits. This week, Scottish Opera's new version of *Così fan tutte* closed with a dishwasher, microwave and washing machine spewing forth flames and smoke while the principals — and half the audience — looked on in amazement. Bourgeois convention and the security of marriage, we may presume, will elude Mozart's quartet of mismatched lovers long after the curtain has fallen (on this occasion to shrieks of "Rubbish!" as well as applause). Blowing up half the contents of an electrical shop, however, is a remarkably heavy-handed way of getting the message across.

Updated stagings of *Così* have become de rigueur of late; this one, directed by Stewart Laing, is an uneasy mix of sitcom and symbolism that doesn't always make the transition easily. Aldona Cunningham's hideous plywood set suggests somewhere suburban and nondescript. Ferrando and Guglielmo are a pair of laddish men behaving badly, in need of a comeuppance. Dorabella and Fiordiligi, meanwhile, doodle caricatures of their lovers in lipstick on their mirrors, abstractedly try on bridal veils and sit by a telephone that

never rings. Alfonso is a smartly dressed wideboy. Despatching the relationship to the others is a curiously ill-defined.

An ominous note is struck from the beginning, by a phallic-looking sword wedged in the floor of the set. The symbols soon pile up with mad-dancing profusion. The spinning hands of a clock suggest time is running out. Whenever anyone sings the word "love", a pink neon arrow flashes on and off. Crooked dressed chorists indulging in a multisexual free-for-all denote erotic uncertainty.

All this is dreary, and tragic on two counts. First, there's a decent production struggling to find its way out of the mess. Laing lets his principals alone, you realise that he has an acute understanding of the opera's tricky balance between broad comedy and emotional pain. Second, it's musically well-nigh flawless, and the excellent cast deserve something better.

Nicholas McGegan conducts. He's fond of extreme speeds, gets some wonderfully sinewy playing from the Scottish Opera orchestra, and encourages the soloists to indulge in more ornamentation than usual. In Mozart, Claire Rutter (Fiordiligi) dazzles with her coloratura. Peter Mattei and Michelle Walton (Guglielmo and Dorabella) are a sexy, well-matched pair. Iain Paton's voice is a bit on the small side for Ferrando, though his phrasing is exquisite. Donald Maxwell is a gritty, chilling Alfonso, while Luisa Milne's Despatch has a nice line in innuendo. It's well worth hearing, even though there are moments when you may have to avert your eyes.

No compensation for UN soldier crippled in Bosnia

Clare Dyer

A SOLDIER who lost a leg as a result of injuries sustained with the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, had his test case for compensation rejected by the High Court yesterday. Sergeant Trevor Walker was hit when a shell was fired into his accommodation block and had to have

his leg amputated above the knee after 13 operations.

A High Court judge, Mr Justice Latham, said the Ministry of Defence was not "unfair or perverse" in refusing him compensation because the incident arose from "war-like activities", which are excluded from its compensation scheme. He is backed by the Royal British Legion, and will appeal against the ruling.

Field delights critics of Child Support Agency by 'thinking aloud' about linking access and maintenance

Divorce: pay to see children

Anne Perkins
Political Correspondent

DIVORCING parents may have to pay to see their children, Frank Field, the Social Security Minister, indicated last night in a move which delighted the critics of the Child Support Agency but which legal experts said was unsustainable.

Although he told MPs: "You can't tie access to maintenance", sources afterwards indicated that Mr Field, the man charged with thinking the unthinkable in welfare

reform, was attracted to the idea that "if you're paying for your child you should have the right to see it, and if you're seeing it, you should pay."

Speaking in a Commons debate on the much-reviled Child Support Agency, Mr Field said that at the moment the parents with care were doing a trade with their estranged partners, claiming less maintenance but denying access to the children.

Officials at the Department of Social Security said Mr Field was "thinking aloud" and that no decisions in the review of the CSA had been taken. Mr Field was not directly involved in it. But when Labour was in opposition Mr Field conducted a series of reviews as chairman of the cross-party social security committee and it is a matter he has studied closely.

At the moment, the courts will not link maintenance and access, insisting that if the welfare of the child or children is paramount, financial considerations must be secondary.

Mr Field also indicated that abolition of the CSA was not an option, even though, in a devastating assessment, he admitted that the agency was a failure which had "inflicted damage" on many people's

lives. He promised to bring forward plans for reform by the summer.

Four years after its inception, MPs say that the CSA is still their biggest source of constituency problems. "Most of us have at least 12 cases going at any time," according to David Rendel, the Liberal Democrat spokesman who opened a Commons debate by calling for abolition of the CSA.

Since 1993, when the agency was established, protests by angry parents at what they felt was an arbitrary, unjust and anonymous system forced continual alteration of the maintenance formula: it

is now so complex that it takes 90 per cent of every CSA employee's time, Mr Field admitted.

Simplifying the system could be done by linking rates of maintenance with individual's tax bands.

"We will have to choose at some stage whether we are going to have a complicated formula or move to something much simpler — a possible simple tax rate," he said.

Mr Field admitted that two people in three initially refused to cooperate with the agency. "People have heard on the grapevine that if they don't cooperate they can stay on benefit," he said.

Opening the debate, Mr Rendel said: "The CSA has failed in its objectives and must go."

He called for a system of mediation to arrive at voluntary agreements, backed by a family court or tribunal to enforce fair decisions when disputes arose.

Even the Tories admitted that the CSA was not effective.

But Simon Burns, their social security spokesman, said the Liberal Democrat motion had "missed the point" of the CSA, which was to encourage parents to reach an amicable arrangement when they split up.



Social Security Secretary Harriet Harman visiting the Fleetspray company in Middlesbrough yesterday. The firm has a policy of employing disabled people

PHOTOGRAPH: RICHARD RAYNER

Harman backs down on disabled cuts

Claimants to have independent assessment of benefit changes

Peter Hetherington
and David Brindle

HARRIET Harman moved last night to defuse growing alarm among the disabled over the Government's welfare reform plans by announcing new measures to assess the financial circumstances of claimants before benefits are cut.

Stung by publicity surrounding cases in which disability living allowances have been reduced for the severely disabled, the embattled Social Security Secretary revealed that independent assessments would soon be made before benefits are changed.

Before speaking to a selected audience of Labour members in Middlesbrough, at the first party welfare roadshow she has addressed, she reassured the disabled that the Government had no intention of reducing benefits for

those in need. With some demonstrators outside, police threw a cordon around the town hall to ensure only invited guests gained entry. Several demonstrators said they knew of disabled people whose benefits were already being cut by £100 a week under procedures approved by the Tories and carried through by Labour.

John Taylor, Teesside secretary of Labour's hard left campaign group, who had been invited, said he was concerned that the disabled and lone parent groups had been excluded from the meeting. "While the welfare state needs reorganising we hope it's not 'cuts led' because that would affect the poorest and most vulnerable and be intolerable."

The policy move followed mounting evidence of seemingly arbitrary decisions to withdraw or cut disability living allowance (DLA) paid to 1.9 million people.

Under the programme of

checks, known as the "benefit integrity project", more than 400,000 people receiving higher combined rates of DLA care and mobility components either £84.10 or £87.70 a week — are having their continuing eligibility scrutinised.

So far, 33,158 cases have been checked — 1,427 people (4.3 per cent) have had benefit stopped and 2,786 (6.9 per cent) have had it cut.

Cases taken up by citizen's advice bureaux include: ● A 78-year-old Birmingham man with a deformed hip, osteoarthritis, deafness and sciatica who had benefit withdrawn.

● A 60-year-old Surrey woman, unable to read or write, whose benefit was stopped on the basis of a review form completed by her daughter who herself had difficulty writing.

● A 39-year-old Manchester woman, deaf and almost totally paralysed, who had her benefit cut because she uses a catheter and was judged not to need help to go to the toilet at night.

In Middlesbrough alone, almost 12,500 people are either

on disability living and attendance allowance or incapacity benefit, while almost one in five men is out of work in a town where the jobless levels have barely fallen over the past year. Bob Duffy, who runs a centre for the unemployed, said the Government's "welfare to work" proposals were the wrong way round. "If they were to create the jobs first and then the

people didn't take them up that would be fine but what they're doing is pretending that jobs exist — virtual reality jobs, if you like — and people will be on schemes for six months and then back on the dole again."

Earlier, Ms Harman acknowledged the discussion on choices involved in reforming the welfare state would be "lively and controversial".

She added: "People with disabilities and in genuine need have everything to gain and nothing to fear from Labour's plans for the welfare state."

But for many party members, it was still unclear last night whether those unspecified plans for welfare reform are designed to help those in need or to cut a benefits bill which accounts for almost a third of government spending.

Scientists pick up powerful signals as old as time itself

Tim Radford
Science Editor

BRITISH astronomers have traced the most powerful signals in the universe, and have found that they date back almost to the dawn of time.

They have calculated that mysterious bursts of gamma rays — a mere 10 seconds' worth would contain more energy than all the light from the Sun in 10 billion years — are so far away that their light has taken almost the entire history of the universe to reach Earth.

Gamma rays are invisible, but they pack a million times more punch than the rays of visible light. For nearly 30 years, astronomers have been detecting, almost every day, very short gusts of astounding energy from the distant heavens.

Last year, a European team made history: they used an Italian-Dutch satel-

lite and two Nasa satellites to "fix" the source of gamma rays in the sky, and set images of the afterglow on two optical telescopes in the Canary Islands.

But that did not solve the question of what was happening, or how far away. One argument is that the explosions are caused by collisions between neutron stars so dense that a cubic inch would weigh millions of tons.

Another scenario is of a neutron star collapsing into a black hole. And nobody could work out whether the explosions were very far away — or inside the Milky Way galaxy.

Tomorrow, Ralph Wijers of the Institute of Astronomy at Cambridge, and colleagues from Pasadena, California, and Toronto, will publish an answer in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*.

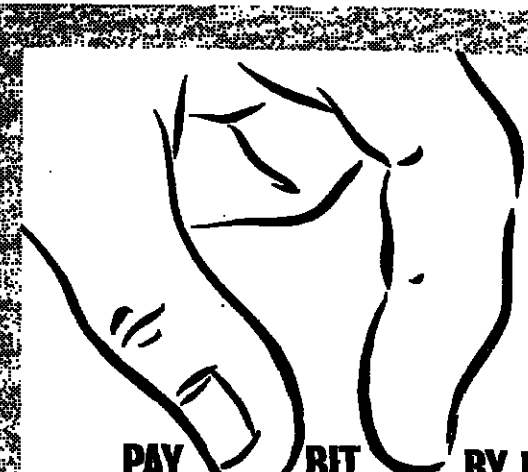
The more massive the star, the shorter its life. So they would die in roughly

the same place in which they were born. The gamma ray bursts would be a kind of clock, ticking off the rate of star creation through different eras of the universe.

The "brightness" of a starburst depends on two things: how hot the explosion is, and how far away it takes place. The gamma ray bursts turned out on closer inspection to be 20 times brighter than the scientists had previously thought — so they must be coming from much further away.

But a journey across huge distances is also a journey through time. The hope is that sooner or later, astronomers will be able to look back to see stars and galaxies in the making.

There are important implications for discovering what the early universe was like," said Mr Wijers. "If you could peek into Nature's kitchen at the time the first stars were being made, that would be really something."



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Brecht

Denis Staunton

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Bertolt Brecht: 'Very charming, very funny and great fun to talk to but he didn't wash enough and he smelt of cigars', according to his daughter

PHOTOGRAPH BY: HULTON GETTY

Brecht bows to market forces

Denis Staunton on Berlin's centenary celebrations of the birth of a playwright who dedicated his work to destroying capitalism but retained a taste for the finer things of life

AMID a display of marketing overkill worthy of the Spice Girls, Berlin will today mark the centenary of the birth of Bertolt Brecht, a playwright who dedicated his life's work to the overthrow of capitalism.

Brecht's face stares out from countless magazine covers and newspapers and a giant photograph of the writer has been mounted at the top of the Kurfürstendamm, the city's main shopping street.

"My name is a trademark," Brecht boasted after the success of one of his plays. But, more than 40 years after the communist regime in East Germany gave him a hero's funeral, it is Brecht's face that is now becoming his fortune.

Magazine features focus on the playwright's personal habits and dress sense, especially the look he adopted

in the 1930s, when he sported a leather jacket, close-cropped hair and soft cap.

"He was styling himself in a pseudo-proletarian way and now people are using this image without thinking just because the picture looks good," said Stephan Wetzel of the Berliner Ensemble, the theatre Brecht founded in East Berlin in 1949.

The publication in Germany of a book claiming that much of Brecht's work was written by his lovers has simply served to heighten interest in the playwright. His sexual adventurousness, its neatly with the image of a cigar-smoking boxing enthusiast with a keen insight into the minds of ordinary people.

Mr Wetzel believes the media-driven elevation of Brecht into a cult figure could finally bury the writer's reputation as an official voice of East German socialism.

"It's going to liberate Brecht, at least in eastern Germany, because it's taking him out of state possession and making him a commercial commodity," he said. "I'm not sure which is worse. Here at the Berliner Ensemble we have to play the game in a way but we're trying to do it tongue in cheek."

The theatre has been staging a "Brechtathon" since yesterday, with performances, readings and discussions. A centenary birthday party was due to start at midnight last night.

As the son of a prosperous paper manufacturer, Brecht had little contact with the working class during his childhood in the southern German city of Augsburg. Even when he embraced socialism, he retained an affection for the finer things in life and continued to take a keen interest in money.

Some of his plays, such as *The Threepenny Opera* and *Mother Courage*, earned huge sums during his lifetime and introduced his style of highly political "epic theatre" to audiences all over the world.

Although he moved to East Berlin after his wartime exile, Brecht held an Austrian passport and a Swiss bank

A man of his word



Brecht's gravestone in the former East Berlin

- 1898: Born in Augsburg, the son of a wealthy factory owner.
- 1917: Studied literature and medicine in Munich.
- 1922: First play, *Drums in the Night*.
- 1928: *The Threepenny Opera*, allegedly co-written by his secretary and lover, Elisabeth Hauptmann.
- 1933: Fled Nazi Germany for Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Wrote *Mother Courage*.
- 1943: Moved to Hollywood but failed as a scriptwriter. Wrote *The Good Woman of Setzuan* and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*.
- 1949: Returned to East Berlin and founded Berliner Ensemble.
- 1956: Died aged 58 in East Berlin. His chosen epitaph: "He made suggestions."

'Agent 15' offers clue to Gulf war syndrome

David Fairhall
Defence Correspondent

MYSTERIOUS illnesses afflicting veterans of the Gulf war may have been caused by a hitherto undisclosed Iraqi chemical weapon known as Agent 15, the Defence Secretary, George Robertson, said yesterday.

Mr Robertson told MPs that "large quantities" of the weapon, a mental incapacitant which works by attacking the nervous system, may have been in Saddam Hussein's armoury since the 1980s. He said the Ministry of Defence had only recently been informed of this possibility by reliable intelligence sources.

Although the Defence Secretary used his Commons disclosure of yet another "horrible" Iraqi weapon to justify the Anglo-American threat of force against President Saddam, it will raise suspicions that Agent 15 is being used as a smokescreen for seven years of fruitless MoD research into veterans' complaints.

One question left unanswered was why the existence of Agent 15, and its possible relevance to Gulf syndrome, is only now being mentioned.

Mr Robertson's startling announcement coincided with an appeal by veterans that the MoD should not repeat the medical mistakes of the 1991 campaign — the multiple vaccinations and use of dangerous organo-phosphate pesticides — which they believe already explain the so-called "Gulf war syndrome".

The symptoms of Agent 15 poisoning — weakness, dizziness, hallucinations, loss of co-ordination — bear some resemblance to those reported by veterans. But the Liberal Democrats' defence spokesman, Menzies Campbell, urged MPs not to rush to conclusions as the use of organo-phosphate insecticides by British forces was "equally consistent" with Gulf war syndrome.

MoD sources later revealed that President Saddam's forces were known to be interested in chemical weapons like Agent 15 (one of a large group of glycolates which

block nerve transmissions) as long ago as 1965.

In August 1995, a brief reference to laboratory research was found in an Iraqi document. Then "late last year", according to the MoD, came the first indications that Iraq possessed large stocks of Agent 15. There is still no firm evidence that this or any other chemical weapon was used against allied forces.

Tony Flint, the chairman of the National Gulf Veterans and Families Association, wrote to the Armed Forces Minister, John Reed, yesterday requesting a guarantee that today's servicemen will not be given "the same, or similar, cocktail of untested and unlicensed drugs that we were given".

Mr Flint, a combat medical technician during the Gulf war, attributes damage to his own immune and neurological system to the fact that he received 13 inoculations within a month, in three batches, including anthrax and whooping cough (though the Department of Health had cautioned against this combination in 1990). He was also taking anti-nerve gas and anti-malaria pills.

This time the MoD, unlike the Pentagon, has not inoculated troops against anthrax — a deadly disease carried by cattle and sheep — even though President Saddam is feared to have hidden stocks of this biological weapon and may have a few missiles and bombs into which it could be loaded.

Nor are troops being ordered to take Naps anti-nerve gas tablets as they were in 1991, when Iraq had hundreds of Scud missiles that could be filled with chemical agents. "Current operational circumstances and threat assessment do not indicate any need for precautionary medical countermeasures at present," an MoD spokesman said.

Servicemen leaving for the Gulf receive a standard package of vaccinations similar to those advised for tourists — typhoid, tetanus, polio, hepatitis A (plus hepatitis B for medical staff). Britain has about 2,500 troops in the region, mainly aboard the aircraft carrier *Invincible* and other warships.

Race to avert war, page 6

Village baffled as healthy children test positive for tuberculosis

Sarah Boseley
and Peter Hetherington

MORE THAN 150 children in an affluent village in Northumbria have mysteriously tested positive for tuberculosis — traditionally the scourge of impoverished slums — yet nobody has been found suffering from the disease.

Health experts are baffled about what explanation to give to anxious parents. So far, two primary and two middle schools in the village of Ponteland, near Newcastle upon Tyne, have 158 children with positive results out of 1,444 screened. All the children are well and at school, having been given a course of antibiotics.

Nicola Black, consultant in communicable disease control, called it "a classic public health mystery". The phenomenon was discovered when children of 11 and 12 were given the routine test in preparation for their BCG inoculation. "In this one relatively small village, we got 26 per cent coming up positive, which blew the mind of the school doctor," he said. "She wondered what she was doing wrong."

The most obvious explanation was that the children had all come into contact with somebody who had TB. "The hunt for the source went into action big scale, but has been an absolute failure. We have found absolutely nothing," he said.

Children in other years of the school and at other schools in the village began to be tested. The results suggest, says Dr Black, that a human with TB is probably not the

source. There were positive tests in all the schools, and it was unlikely that they could all have come into contact with one sick individual. "The human source was far and away the worst risk we could imagine. If it is something else, the risk goes down a bit," he said.

Other possibilities being examined are that the children have been in contact with an animal source of TB or with some organism, perhaps in the soil, which is similar to TB. It is also possible that some minor infection in the community interfered with the skin tests.

GPs and other medical personnel had put a "colossal effort" into solving the mystery and the community had not been slow to offer leads and ideas.

"In the village you can't even cough in Safeway's any more. Everyone is concerned

to a greater or lesser extent," said Dr Black.

Parents of the children who tested positive are finding it particularly hard to quell their anxieties. Louise Abington's five-year-old son Thomas is one of the latest batch of 54 with a positive result. Outside Darras Hall First School, which has 30 cases, she said: "Now we're told it might be something else, and frankly I am not very happy, because things are even worse."

Thomas was sent to hospital last week for a chest X-ray, and cleared. "There were no suggestions that he had an infection but he was put on six months antibiotics," said Louise, who has another son, aged one.

"The disease can lie dormant for years and, of course, it can turn into something else, and frankly I am not very happy, because things are even worse."

Thomas was sent to hospital last week for a chest X-ray, and cleared. "There were no suggestions that he had an infection but he was put on six months antibiotics," said Louise, who has another son, aged one.

ing doubts about whether it's TB. You wonder whether antibiotics are the right thing — should we now throw them away?"

Some, like a middle-aged man picking up his five-year-old granddaughter from the school, suspect the local swimming pool, or the sports centre, could be the source of the infection.

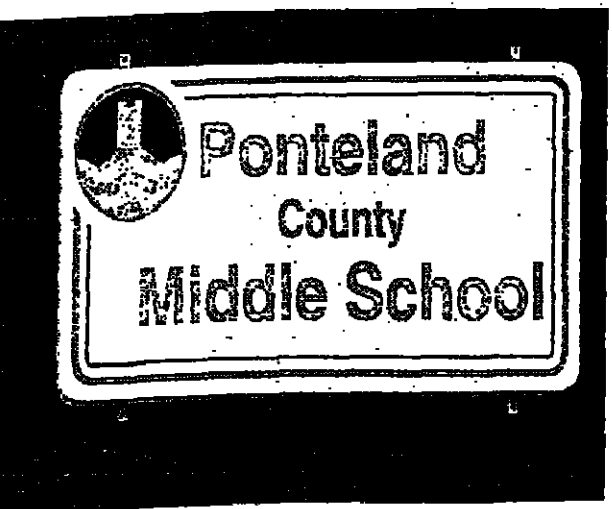
"It is very much fear of an unknown quantity," he said. "Various people have their own opinions but no one has said anything officially. This has all caught people by surprise and we're all very concerned about where it has come from."

"It is very frightening when you think it could have been passed on by someone, possibly a person who might not know. People associated TB with poverty, slums, poor hygiene but that's totally in contrast to an area like this which is very affluent — well-heeled, well-dressed, and well-off. Doctors and medical people all send their children to the schools round here and they're all baffled by it."

Ian Bullous, a pharmacist who has two children aged eight and 11, said many people had to be reminded that TB was a "killer" not long ago.

"I recently saw a programme about TB returning to the poorer parts of America — but surely not somewhere like this," he said.

Another parent said: "With so many children testing positive you'd be mad to be complacent about something like this. It is very worrying, but we're getting almost daily bulletins from the schools and the health authorities. They can't be faulted."



Four schools in the village have cases PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE SCOTT

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He performs his modest ambassadorial role with an amused and unflagging stoicism. But the kind of Britain he symbolises — a place of empire and warm teacakes — has long since vanished.
Luke Harding with Prince Charles in Bhutan

G2 page 8

Wolverhampton boasts of its 1990s cultural mix, but Asians say they still face racial barriers. Stuart Millar reports



Enoch Powell in 1966 (right) in the town he served as an MP for 24 years; and three decades later (left) the more modern facade of the Heath Town area

PHOTOGRAPHS: JOHN READER AND JEREMY WILLIAMS



Powell got it wrong, his old town says

IN THE centre of Wolverhampton, Balhi houses line the streets. Asian and black businessmen have thrived in Enoch Powell's old stronghold: the Hindu temple is an imposing symbol of the change over the three decades since he issued his notorious rivers of blood warning.

Yesterday the town which Powell served as MP for 24 years was pointing up a multiculturalism far removed from the dire scenario he pre-

dicted. Powell, who died on Sunday, may have been a man of strong convictions, the local argument goes; fortunately he was also misguided.

"He was one of our great politicians," said the Bishop of Wolverhampton, Michael Bourne. "Although I strongly disagreed with his views I respected him. You always listened to him with respect, but his predictions have mercifully proved wrong."

The local newspaper, the Express and Star, took a similar line: "Powell's mistake was to underestimate the adaptability and good will of the British people."

"Rivers of blood have never been on the agenda of ordinary Britons, thank God, and the integration of races in this country has, by and large, been a model for the rest of the world."

The statistics underline the diversity of Wolverhampton's population. Almost 20 per

cent is Asian, with the streets of Blakenhall and Goldthorn boasting thriving communities that regularly hold religious festivals.

It is in Wolverhampton that the Shree Krishna Mandir temple, the largest Hindu temple in the West Midlands, can be found.

A further 9 per cent of the population is Afro-Caribbean. The local establishment is keen to boast of its multicultural credentials.

"We work hard in this area to make sure we approach the situation sensitively," said Chief Inspector Tom Duffin of West Midlands police. "It is reasonable to say we have a vibrant and cosmopolitan community."

"Although the crime rate is too high, we are not aware of any racist themes reflected in these crimes."

Other local people disagree. They concede that while the picture is nowhere as violent as that envisaged by Powell, racism remains a common-

place and potent problem for ethnic minorities. "The authorities would say everything is rosy," said Ghanshan Saini, complaints officer at the racial equality council. "But judging by the number of complaints we receive [ethnic minorities] are still treated to a large extent as second-class citizens."

It is a different set of statistics which tells this story. Among young Asians more than 40 per cent are out of work, compared with less

than 20 per cent of young whites. Mr Saini said job prospects were poor for Asians, not through lack of skills but through institutionalised racism.

"They are stereotyped by employers, so they have to go for more jobs than whites, and even then they don't get them. That kind of racism is even more dangerous than Powell's type because it is far harder to weed out."

Outside the temple, on the road to Powell's old constitu-

ency, some young Asians were waiting for friends before heading inside. Each agreed that, while they no longer lived in fear of physical violence, racism remained endemic.

"We don't worry about getting beat up all the time," said Nirmala Kanda, aged 15. "It's not like in the 1970s when the National Front was strong, but we have to put up with racism in a lot of places, and I think the powers that be like to forget about that."

'Deception and lies' of sultan's brother

Sarah Hall

HE IS the brother of the richest man in the world. A playboy prince with a raft of property, 600 cars, and Tis — a 180ft yacht complete with speedboats Nipple 1 and Nipple 2.

But yesterday in the High Court, Prince Jefri Bolkiah, the youngest brother of the Sultan of Brunei, was branded a liar.

"The case is deceptive and is a lie," said Christopher Carr, QC. "It's an utterly dishonest case full of extraordinary gaps and falsehoods."

The 44-year-old prince who bought the Queen's Jewellers Asprey for £244 million is being sued for £80 million by Bob and Rafi Manoukian, former close friends who worked for him from 1981 to 1995 as middlemen, supplying everything from Rolex watches, to a Renault and a Pi-

sarro, to an aircraft. The brothers claim he renegeed on a \$55 million deal to buy the Adelphi building in the Strand, central London, and a \$25 million verbal agreement to renovate the first five storeys of 45 Park Lane, formerly Hugh Hefner's Playboy Club, and now one of the prince's London homes.

The polo-playing prince is countering for more than £100 million, alleging Rafi systematically exploited their close friendship to make concealed profits which ran into tens of millions of pounds, and the duo misled him as to the true market value of the Park Lane property.

Mr Carr, appearing for the Manoukians, told Mr Justice Longmore the Park Lane building, which the Sultan had already been interested in, went on the market for \$40.5 million in October/November 1989. Prince Jefri only "wanted to buy floors five to eight as a residential

base in London" and "lean" on the brothers to buy the lower floors.

They bought the lower floors for £19.5 million, and Prince Jefri bought the upper for £21 million.

Three years later, in November 1992, the prince told the brothers he wanted the whole building. Bob Manoukian agreed to sell the extra floors for \$35 million which covered the costs of conversion and financial charges but no profit.

As "a gesture of friendship", he expected "to be allowed to undertake renovation at a modest price" — namely \$30 million. The prince paid £10 million for the refurbishment, and refused to pay more.

Mr Carr said the prince's version of events differed. He originally bought the upper floors at the Manoukians' suggestion, and was not even sure if he knew they had bought the lower floors.



Bob and Rafi Manoukian: claiming £20m for property deals

He claimed to defer to Rafi as the "experienced property developer". "I relied totally on Rafi. He took the initiative on both transactions and I trusted him to do the best for me. Given my relationship with Rafi and the trust I

placed in him, if the property was worth less... I expected him to tell me," he claimed in his witness statement.

Mr Carr continued: "Prince Jefri claims that the Manoukians defrauded him in selling him the lower floors for

\$35 million because in truth the lower floors had a market value at that time of only about \$16 million."

Prince Jefri's assertion that he did not know they were buying the lower floors "was a complete piece of fiction", and his stance of "supine acquiescence" was "totally false and misleading". This is a plain attempt to mislead the court.

Moreover, far from being naive about the value of the property, he knew of three valuations undertaken in March 1988, September 1988 and August 1989, Mr Carr suggested.

One, valuing the property at £28-32 million, had been obtained for the Brunei Investment Agency, of which he was chairman, and it would be "unlikely" if he had not seen this, and a fee note for another had been sent to him direct.

The case, expected to last six months, continues today.

New national tests for primary schools

John Carriv
Education Editor

A NEW framework of national tests to measure children's learning at almost every stage in primary school was announced yesterday by Nick Tate, the Government's chief curriculum adviser.

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority said it expected 90 per cent of primaries to use optional tests in May to measure nine-year-olds' progress in English and maths at the mid-way point between statutory tests at seven and 11.

Tests at nine were piloted in 270 schools for the first time last year, revealing a "disappointing" showing in maths.

Dr Tate, the authority's chief executive, said it would also start piloting optional tests at eight and 10 in response to heavy demand from head teachers who wanted more consistent monitoring of pupils' performance.

As the Government prepares to introduce "baseline" testing to measure the capabilities of children when they start primary school at five, the new framework will leave six-year-olds as the only age group to escape national examination.

Tests at eight, nine and 10 will not be compulsory, but Dr Tate forecast they would become the norm.

There had been a "sea change in attitudes" about testing which was initially boycotted by the teacher unions.

"There is clear evidence that teachers find the tests useful and that is a big turnaround from only a few years ago. That indicates a big cultural shift... Teachers are under heavy pressure now to achieve results."

Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters' Union of Women Teachers, said there was no objection to national tests at nine as long as they were externally

marked and teachers' assessment workload was reduced.

Analysis of the results of last summer's tests showed a big improvement in 14-year-olds' understanding of Shakespeare. The most popular play was Romeo and Juliet — studied by about 400,000 pupils. Their answers were the best yet, with close reference to the text and less storytelling without comment.

But the authority found disturbing gaps in the grasp of the world around them. Less than half the pupils knew that the Sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

Only 20 per cent knew that, in Britain, the Sun is towards the south at midday and more than 40 per cent thought it was "towards the north".

The results confirmed a worrying dip in performance of nine-year-olds. At the age of seven, 78 per cent of pupils reached the target standard in reading, but two years later the proportion achieving the expected standard for their age fell to 67 per cent.

For writing, the percentage passing fell from 80 to 58; for spelling from 60 to 55; and for maths from 80 to 69.

Last week Chris Woodhead, the chief inspector, said that heads may be allocating their weakest teachers to this age group. Dr Tate said nearly half the pupils did not make the progress expected between ages seven and nine.

"We remain confident that, with all the measures in hand, we can reach these targets, but particular attention will need to be paid to the progress of eight and nine-year-olds, particularly in maths."

The authority will introduce stricter policing of this year's tests after the Guardian reported confessions of cheating by teachers. A survey of heads showed 75 per cent thought the arrangements for early opening of test papers were too lax. There will be spot checks on this year's tests in May and papers will remain sealed until an hour before they are used.

Sacked man, 70, wins historic age bias ruling

Claire Dyer
Legal Correspondent

A MAN aged 70 sacked from his job after more than 25 years' service, has won a historic ruling that age discrimination in Britain's employment laws contravenes European laws.

In what is thought to be the first such decision, London South industrial tribunal has

held that rules which deny over-65s the right to claim unfair dismissal or redundancy payments breach European sex equality law. The tribunal decided the rules were discriminatory because more men than women want to work after 65.

Tribunal rulings do not set a precedent but if the case is upheld on appeal it will open the way for both men and women over retirement age to

claim employment protection rights.

European law overrides domestic law which conflicts with it and if the limits are held to be unlawful, both sexes will have the right to claim.

James Nash, then aged 69, was at home recovering after a slight accident at his work as a warehouse manager with the Mash/Roe Group, a fruit and vegetable wholesaler, when he received a letter terminating his employment because he was nearing 70.

He consulted an advice centre, the Camden Tribunal and Rights Unit, which told him he had no legal redress because he was over 65.

But the unit decided to launch a claim on his behalf, challenging the rule as unfair discrimination under European law.

John Lisle, solicitor for the Mash/Roe Group, said the company would appeal and would ask the Government if it wanted to join in the appeal.

"This turns UK employment legislation on its head. The implications are very far-reaching," he said.

Mr Nash, from Clerkenwell, central London, said: "After the shock of being dismissed from my work after over 25 years without just cause, and then the bitter disappointment of having no rights of appeal simply on the grounds of being over 65, the news of our success at the tribunal gave me the same feeling as winning the lottery."

Nuns reject allegations of abuse at children's homes

Maureen Bunting
Religious Affairs Editor

THE Catholic Church in Scotland is facing a lengthy legal battle with nearly 400 former residents of children's homes who allege they were abused.

Two orders of nuns, the Poor Sisters of Nazareth and the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, are being sued for alleged ill-treatment including physical, emotional and sexual abuse, dating back to 1937 at six convents in Scotland.

Since the allegations were publicised last summer, large numbers of people have approached lawyers; one firm has 376 alleged cases. Six test allegations are being prepared for court.

The church and lawyers representing the nuns maintain that child care at the homes was in accord with the spartan standards of the time in question, when corporal punishment was routine.

According to a statement by solicitors representing the Poor Sisters of Nazareth, who now run homes for the elderly, there was a campaign aimed at "eliciting money by means of moral blackmail".

"The Nazareth Sisters were dumbfounded at the recent allegations, since up to then they had never received any complaints whatsoever," continued the statement. It also said that official records of inspections show that in the homes "while life was hard



Fred Aitken: alleges he was beaten by nuns as a boy

and very disciplined" the children were well cared for.

The Bishop of Aberdeen, the Rt Rev Mario Conti, has agreed to hold a mass at Easter for former residents of the homes who are supportive of the nuns.

This response incenses Fred Aitken, aged 65. He was aged six in 1939 when put in a home run by the Poor Sisters of Nazareth at Lasswade in Lothian because his father could not cope with eight children after the death of their mother.

He alleges he was badly treated in the home.

"The first thing I can recall was having my head banged against the wall. For the first two years I was very shocked; I didn't know what violence was."

There were lots of beatings. They used to bang two boys' heads together or against the edge of a door," he told a BBC Scotland documentary, A Time for Penance?, broadcast tonight.

"At night, I remember the children banging their heads on the sides of their cots; they were so disturbed."

"They [the nuns] broke my spirit; the humiliation was constant. Because they were nuns, they had to be correct; we prayed to God to take the devil out of us."

"They told us that if we touched our private parts, our hands would burn harder than the rest of us in hell. Such thinking has had a devastating effect on my life. They destroyed my childhood; I tried to run away many times."

Veronica de Franco was in another home run by the Poor Sisters of Nazareth in Aberdeen from 1959-1964.

"I got slapped, and the nuns would pull my ears, my cheeks and my hair," she claims.

"When I got a splinter in my finger, the nun cut round my fingernail and took it off; the blood was pouring out and I was screaming with pain. The nail has never grown back."

"Once, I was polishing the floor but the sister wasn't satisfied and she put her boot in my back; I still have the mark from where she put her heel in, and it has caused arthritis of the spine and I have to have constant painkillers."

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The Guardian INTERACTIVE

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Beef crisis

Nobody had a proper job, no one could care less about a career, everyone was out every night and nobody ever watched TV, because nothing was on except Abba and people in tank-tops. Linda Grant remembers the 70s

G2 page 7

The Brit awards

Youth and verve top poll

Dan Glatzer
Arts Correspondent

A COMPARATIVE unknown with just two hit singles and an acclaimed album under his belt, last night's winner of the best British male artist award in the Brits, Elton John, was not the only one to surprise. The best British female artist award also produced a surprise with the young soul singer Shola Ama taking the prize. Both artists were also shortlisted for best British newcomer, which was won by Stereophonics.

As expected The Verve

Elton told Tony Blair he wanted to present him with a doily he had sewn himself

carried off the awards for best British group and best British album. They also took best production.

The Verve, who have gone from Oasis support act to chart-toppers within a year, beat some of the big names of last year for the best group award. Radiohead, Pulp and Oasis were all shortlisted for the prize.

In the best British album category, they defeated Radiohead's *OK Computer*, recently voted the best album of all time by the readers of *Q* magazine.

The Spice Girls, who dominated last year's ceremony, taking two prizes, won an honorary award this year. As predicted, their new rivals, All Saints, took the best British single award and the best video award for their hit *Never Ever*.

The Spice Girls' consolation was a prize for "exceptional commercial success", an accolade

nominated by a panel from the British Phonographic Industry, the organisation behind the Brit awards. Another special award went to Elton John, who missed out in the best British single category for his *Candle in the Wind '97*.

Receiving the Freddie Mercury Award for contributions to charities in the music industry from Prime Minister Tony Blair at a reception filmed last week in the White House, Elton John provided the evening with its customary element of surprise.

Although not in the same category as Jarvis Cocker baring his bottom in protest at Michael Jackson, or Geri Spice bursting out of her Union Jack dress last year, Elton John's offer to present Mr Blair with the doily, which he had sewn himself, was not without its own element of surprise.

In the evening's other category, the group Fleetwood Mac received the award for outstanding contribution to the British music industry.

The choice of Quaye as best British male artist was the evening's biggest surprise. Quaye, whose first single *Sunday Shining* was a top 20 hit, followed it with *Even After All*, which charted in the top 10.

His album *Maverick A Strike* has so far sold a quarter of a million copies reaching a high of number three on the charts. This week it is at number 19, 19 weeks after release.

The Brits, which with three exceptions are voted for by a 600 music industry figures, have often courted controversy. The best newcomer, single and video categories are voted for by radio and television audiences. This year's industry panel is chaired by the chairman of Virgin Records, Paul Conroy.

Following last year's surprise victory by Roni Size in the Mercury Music Prize, and the emergence of the Brats, an alternative Brits organised by a music paper, there has been pressure on the Brits to sharpen its image.



And the winners are...



The awards

Best newcomer: Stereophonics
Best male artist: Elton John
Best female artist: Shola Ama
Best dance act: The Prodigy
Best group: The Verve
Best single: *Never Ever* (All Saints)
Best album: *Even After All* (Quaye)
Best video: *Never Ever* (All Saints)
Best producer: Youth, Verve, Chris Foner
Best international newcomer: Ektomorph
Best international male artist: Jon Bon Jovi
Best international female artist: Ektomorph
Best international group: U2
Best soundtrack: *The Full Monty*
Special award for international sales: Spice Girls
Outstanding contribution: Fleetwood Mac
Freddie Mercury Award: Sir Elton John

Paris rejects 'delay killed Diana' claim

Jon Henley in Paris

FRENCH medical authorities yesterday rejected a claim that the life of Diana, Princess of Wales, might have been saved if she had been taken directly to hospital following her car crash.

A spokeswoman for the central Paris hospitals administration, Henriette Chabrian, said: "Diana did not die through medical error," she said, adding that all the procedures had been correctly followed. "Beyond that we have no comment."

The claim is made in a book, *Death of a Princess: The Investigation*, written by two Time magazine correspondents. They quote American doctors as saying the emergency services may have made an error in treating the princess at the accident scene for 30-40 minutes to stabilise her condition, rather than rushing her straight to hospital.

The car carrying Diana, her companion Dodi Fayed, bodyguard Trevor Rees-Jones, and driver Henri Paul crashed just before 12.30am on August 31, but she did not reach the Pitié-Salpêtrière hospital four miles away until more than 90 minutes later.

She was breathing on arrival, but despite emergency surgery and heart massage was declared dead — of "internal haemorrhaging due to a major chest trauma and a rupture of the left pulmonary vein" at 2.30am.

The book quotes an American cardiovascular surgeon, John Ochsner, as saying the fact that Diana had not died immediately following the crash of a massive haemorrhage showed that the tear in her pulmonary vein, which

feeds oxygenated blood back into the heart, was clotting. Asked if someone in that condition could survive, Dr Ochsner said: "If you can get them in the hospital and on a heart-lung machine early enough, you can save them."

"Given that she was still alive after two hours, if they'd have got her there in an hour, they might have saved her."

Another American emergency doctor, David Wasserman, said: "Spending all that time on-site treatment was absolutely the wrong kind of approach."

In the United States the method adopted a decade ago dictates simply that emergency patients have their spine stabilised and an intravenous drip inserted. "Before that, we found we were losing more patients by messing with them in the field than by getting them to hospital," Dr Wasserman said.

French procedure, however, is to stabilise trauma patients as fully as possible on site before moving them. Emergency service, or SAMU, ambulances of the type that carried Diana are fully-equipped mobile emergency units, and will not hesitate to move slowly or even stop — as hers did at one point — to perform further emergency treatment.

A senior SAMU official, who asked not to be named, said yesterday that there were two different philosophies. "It is not appropriate for American doctors to comment on a system that is the polar opposite of theirs," he said.

"If a patient can support it, of course we move fast. But, as in much of Europe, our view is that for patients in very severe trauma a screaming ambulance ride can be dangerous and even fatal."

Woman says Dodi gave her cash after she became pregnant

Lucy Patton

THE woman who claims Dodi Fayed was the father of her child said yesterday that he gave her £75,000 after she told him she was pregnant.

Diane Holliday, 38, also repeated her claim that she had DNA evidence to prove the child was his.

In an interview in London's Evening Standard, Ms Holliday, who lives in Little Saxham, Suffolk, said: "Dodi was Marni's father. I have a DNA test to prove it and Mohamed Al Fayed knows this full well. Mohamed organised the test."

"I don't want money from him or anyone else, but they cannot deny she was Dodi's child... Dodi and I were close for about five months and Marni is the result."

In her latest claims, Ms Holliday, a divorcee who also has two teenage children, continued: "It was never a serious

relationship and we were never going to get married, but we were friends. We talked a lot and fell into a sexual relationship... Dodi accepted Marni was his..."

The Fayed family says that there is no proof that the child is Dodi's and that Ms Holliday is trying to exploit family grief for financial reasons.

Ms Holliday claims Dodi gave her £50,000 when she told him she was pregnant and a further £25,000 to rent her new home in Suffolk. She said he was pleased when he found out she was pregnant, months after they first met at the Ritz in Paris in 1995, and wanted to keep the baby, now 15 months old. She later decided to have the baby adopted in the US.

After Dodi's death, she saw his father. She claims the Harrods owner said he wanted Marni brought back and he would look after her.

BSE delay led to 'infection of an extra 60,000 cattle'

James Melville

SIXTY thousand cows might have escaped BSE infection if vets had acted as soon as the disease was first identified, a member of the Government's advisory body claimed yesterday.

The 14 months delay before scientists made a formal diagnosis could have had a "very, very significant effect" on the size of the epidemic, and the amount of infected meat entering the food chain, said Roy Anderson, Lincolns professor of zoology at Oxford University.

Twenty-three people have died from new variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, "human BSE", now linked to the eating of infected beef, and over 170,000 cattle have died from the cattle disease formally identified by the Central Veterinary Laboratory, Wey-

bridge, in November 1996. But a BBC2 series, *Mad Cows and Englishmen*, starting next Sunday and made with the co-operation of the Ministry of Agriculture, claims Carol Richardson, then a pathologist at the laboratory, first discovered evidence of a cattle disease similar to scrapie in sheep in September 1985.

The diagnosis was made on a sick cow from a farm near Midhurst, West Sussex, where the alarm was first raised at the end of 1984. The later formal identification came as a result of investigations into two outbreaks, one in Kent.

Scientific experiments were launched and ministers were informed about the new disease the following summer. A ban on the use of animal protein in cattle feed, thought to be the main source of infection to cattle, was introduced a year later in June 1988.

Professor Anderson told BBC1 Breakfast News: "There are a lot of ifs and buts about this case and I should say from the beginning it is easy to be wise with hindsight."

"Given that there was a slight delay during the exponential growth phase of the epidemic, the phase in which it is growing very rapidly, early intervention can have a dramatic effect on the course and this particular period, 1987 and 1988, was a period when the epidemic was growing extremely rapidly."

"Therefore, intervention 12 or 14 months earlier unfortunately, would have had a very, very significant effect if it had taken place. I do not think it is constructive to ascribe blame to individuals or people or organisations."

It was important to learn lessons. "We have to be vigilant and react quickly," On CJD, he said: "With only 23 cases at the moment the

future is uncertain and it will stay so for three to five years."

In the first programme of the new series, Gerald Wells, a neuropathologist who examined Ms Richardson's work in September 1985, says: "We didn't have such a clear picture."

A ministry spokeswoman said: "These are all issues which Lord Justice Phillips's public inquiry will address."

Michael Jack, the Tory agriculture spokesman, said: "The previous government did all it could to deal with the facts as scientists presented them after rigorous analysis. Talking to scientists, it is evident this was new science and people were feeling their way."

Parents of teenager call for death penalty as murderer changes plea



Louise Smith and David Frost (above), Gillian Smith (below left), PHOTOGRAPHS: JEFF MORGAN AND BARRY BACHELOR

THE parents of a teenage girl murdered while walking home from a Christmas Eve disco two years ago called yesterday for the return of the death penalty as the student who killed her was jailed for life.

Louise Smith, a clerical worker aged 18, disappeared after leaving Spirals nightclub at Yate, near Bristol. She had turned down the offer of a shared taxi ride, deciding to walk the short distance home.

Her naked body, wearing only shoes and covered with branches, was discovered two months later by two boys in Barnhill quarry nearby. Jewellery and other belongings should have to pay to keep people like this alive."

Yesterday, in an unexpected change of plea at the start of his trial at Bristol crown court, David Frost, a Surrey university civil engineering student, pleaded guilty to the killing.

Frost, aged 22, was arrested at Heathrow airport in April last year after returning voluntarily from South Africa, where he had been on a civil engineering placement as part of his degree course.

Louise's parents, Gillian and Robert Smith, were in court with their son, Richard, to hear Mr Justice Bell tell Frost: "It was an evil thing that you did."

After the hearing they said they were pleased not to have had to face the ordeal of a trial. But Mrs Smith told reporters: "It will stay in my mind, wondering what he said to Louise and how long she suffered. I think the death penalty should be brought in. I agreed with getting rid of it, but now they can make a mistake any more. I can't see why everyone should have to pay to keep people like this alive."

Mr Smith said opponents of the death penalty should have seen the misery Frost had caused.

"I don't want to sound like we are baying for blood, because we are not like that, but someone who kills a stranger

for no reason deserves the death penalty."

Police who interviewed Frost described him as an intelligent, clean-cut young man, eloquent and able to communicate. But there was "a much darker side" to him.

"He clearly acted in an evil way and the motive was clearly sexual," said Detective Sergeant Gary Davies, one of the officers who accompanied Frost on the flight back from South Africa.

Frost told police he had seen the Louise walking alone after the nightclub closed at 2am. He had struck up a conversation with her and sexual intercourse had taken place.

At first he said he did not know what had happened after he left her. But he was later to admit that Louise became upset after they had had sex and he had put his hand over her mouth. In trying to stop her from screaming he had pressed on her throat and she went silent. He told the interviewing officer he had not intended to kill her.

He panicked and took the body to the quarry, where he covered it with branches. He took off her clothing and put it into various bins on his way home.

Frost was trapped by a combination of house-to-house inquiries in the quarry area and DNA techniques. Around 4,500 DNA tests were carried out during the £1.5 million investigation, one of the biggest murder inquiries undertaken by Avon and Somerset force.

Alun Jenkins QC, prosecuting, said that the house-to-house inquiries established that Frost had been visiting his parents in the area over Christmas. He later told police he would make himself available in Yate for swabs for DNA comparison before leaving for South Africa, but he did not turn up.

In March last year detectives asked South African police to send back mouth swabs from Frost. The court heard that the match with a sample of DNA taken from Louise's body was such that the likelihood of its coming from another male was one in 35 million.

Beef crisis

September 1985: Pathologist at central veterinary laboratory at Weybridge allegedly identifies BSE in a cow at Pitsham Farm, Midhurst.
November 1986: Disease formally identified after evidence from herds in different parts of England.
June 1987: Laboratory informs ministers about BSE.
June/July 1988: Ban on ruminant and bone meal of ruminants, especially cows and sheep, fed to cattle.
May 1990: Agriculture minister John Gummer feeds beef burger to four-year-old daughter for the cameras.

July 1993: 100,000th confirmed case of BSE.
May 1995: Death of Stephen Churchill, 19, now commonly accepted as the first victim to die from new variant CJD, the human form of BSE.
March 1996: Government admits possible link between BSE and new form of CJD. Europe bans exports.
December 1996: Selective cull of cattle most at risk of BSE infection announced.
October 1997: Members of government advisory committee say new variant CJD is "in effect, human BSE".
December 1997: Agriculture Minister Jack Cunningham bans beef on the bone. Inquiry under Lord Justice Phillips announced.



and a proper job. It's been about a year since every man, woman and child in the country has been told to stop eating beef.

Iraq crisis: Race to avert war

UN chief steps up pressure for deal

Julian Borger in Cairo and Ian Black in London

KOFI ANNAN, the United Nations secretary-general, intervened yesterday to try to resolve the Iraqi crisis peacefully and avert what he warned would be "devastating" air attacks by the United States and Britain.

As Russia claimed Saddam Hussein was backing down and a new Arab initiative challenged Washington and London, Mr Annan postponed

trips to Italy and the Middle East to co-ordinate the intensifying diplomatic attempts to end the stand-off over weapons inspections.

The Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, had announced that the UN chief was flying to Baghdad. But saying the search for a solution had reached a "critical" stage, Mr Annan insisted that he had no plans to do so. Aides said he would only visit Iraq if a clear deal emerged.

According to the Iraqi News Agency, Iraq's deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, spoke to Mr Annan by tele-

phone yesterday, although no details were given. The agency said it came "in the framework of continued discussions and contacts" between Baghdad and the UN.

Speaking as he arrived in Rome for a state visit, President Yeltsin, who is strongly opposed to military action, said he believed President Saddam had agreed to open "a number of presidential facilities" for inspection, but gave no further details.

In Cairo, the Arab League announced that in co-operation with Russia and France it was putting together a com-

promise to break the deadlock. The league's secretary-general, Esmat Abdel-Meguid, outlined a proposal for a new UN panel to inspect the eight presidential palace compounds at the heart of the controversy. Sixty more "sensitive" sites would be open to the existing UN Special Commission on Iraq (Unscm) — but for two months only.

The proposals are clearly unacceptable to the US and Britain, threatening air strikes if Iraq does not comply with UN resolutions and grant unconditional access to the weapons teams.

"There are some interesting elements in what's emerging from Baghdad but — and it's a big but — there is still some way to go before UN requirements are met," one British official said last night.

But the proposal could pose problems for Washington and London by crystallising Arab and European opposition to the use of force and providing an alternative course with widespread support in the Security Council.

"It could do exactly what it's meant to do, and that's really muddy the waters," said a diplomat in Cairo.

France, Russia and China have declared their total opposition to the use of military action. Russian and French diplomats are seeking a compromise over the "presidential sites" — compounds built around President Saddam's palaces which Baghdad has ruled off-limits to Unscm.

The Arab League plan is a blow to US-led efforts to rally support, or at least mute opposition, in the Middle East to the possibility of large-scale bombing of Iraqi strategic targets.

It emerged as the US defence secretary, William Co-

hen, was in Kuwait, the only Gulf state so far to volunteer the use of its air bases for military strikes. He said diplomacy must be given every chance to succeed, but added: "The window of opportunity is not getting wider, it is getting narrower."

US officials, meanwhile, announced the dispatch of 2,500 to 3,000 ground troops to Kuwait as part of contingency plans to defend the emirate. King Hussein of Jordan said after meeting Tony Blair in London yesterday: "I don't think I would support action that would affect the people of

Iraq... The people have suffered enough."

Tunisia joined other Arab states in expressing opposition to military action. Mr Blair stressed that Britain too wanted a diplomatic solution but, for diplomatic efforts to be effective, they needed to be backed up by a clear determination to use force — a pledge underlined by the arrival of eight RAF Tornado bombers in Kuwait yesterday.

Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, is due to make a statement in the Commons today.

Ankara acts to block exodus of refugees

Turkey

Chris Morris in Ankara

THERE were conflicting claims of Turkish troop movements near the Iraqi border yesterday after eyewitnesses said thousands of soldiers crossed into Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq in the early hours.

The Turkish government denied that any troops had moved into Iraq. A foreign ministry spokesman said only that a contingency plan was



in place to deal with a potential exodus of refugees in the event of an American-led military strike against Iraq.

The army has cut all access for journalists to the main border crossing at Habur, but residents of nearby towns say there has been considerable military activity throughout the area. One witness spoke of commandos, medical teams and armoured vehicles crossing the border.

The Turkish cabinet is determined that any new flow of refugees should be contained within Iraqi territory. It wants to set up a security zone in which to intercept refugees heading towards Turkey. Local press reports say the zone could extend about 10 miles into Iraq.

At the end of the Gulf war in 1991, hundreds of thou-

sands of Iraqi Kurds tried to reach Turkey, causing a humanitarian and political crisis for the government in Ankara. "The memories of that exodus are still in our mind," said the foreign ministry spokesman, Necati Utkan.

The government does not like to talk about a buffer zone in Iraq, officials say, instead of a humanitarian aid programme in which the military would set up shelters for refugees until the situation stabilised.

Turkish incursions into northern Iraq are already routine. Troops regularly cross the border to attack camps of the PKK Turkish Kurd guerrilla group, and more than 20,000 Turkish soldiers were in northern Iraq for several months last year.

The Iraqi government lost control of the north after the Gulf war, creating an acute dilemma for the Turkish authorities. They are deeply suspicious of any move to set up a fully functioning autonomous Kurdish region there, fearing it would encourage Kurdish rebels fighting for a similar goal in south-eastern Turkey.

The power vacuum in northern Iraq has given the PKK the opportunity to develop an infrastructure to launch attacks into Turkey. Ankara's Western allies understand that and are prepared to put up with the cross-border operations as long as they are "limited in scope and duration".

While Turkey is no friend of President Saddam Hussein, it wants to see Iraq back in the international fold and in control of all its territory as soon as possible. Ankara says it has lost about \$21 billion in trade revenue since the Gulf war, and is fed up with the instability on its eastern border.

That is why Turkey has been campaigning so hard for a diplomatic solution to the crisis. It wants sanctions against Iraq lifted as soon as President Saddam can be persuaded to comply with the United Nations weapons-monitoring regime.



In Gaza City yesterday Palestinians cover themselves in white sheets to show their readiness to embrace death for President Saddam

PHOTOGRAPH: FAYEZ NURELDINE

Netanyahu tries to soothe nerves of anxious public

Israel

David Sharrock in Jerusalem

ISRAEL'S civil defence forces are working "around the clock" preparing for a possible attack by Iraq, the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, said yesterday in an attempt to reverse mounting public concern.

"All these systems are working methodically. In fact working around the clock organising the various responses we have against these threats," he said.

Israeli media reported yesterday that the United States defence secretary, William Cohen, had assured the defence minister, Yitzhak Mordechai, that Israel would get advance word of military action so that it could prepare for possible Iraqi retaliation.

Mr Cohen also said dur-

ing their meeting in Munich on Sunday that Israel had the right to retaliate if attacked by Baghdad. Last week he said he would strongly urge Israel to stay out of a confrontation in the Gulf, even if attacked.

The popular view in Israel is that renewed conflict with Saddam Hussein is inevitable, and it has led to tussles at gas-mask distribution centres where stocks of equipment are said to be running short.

The Home Front division of the Israel Defence Force (IDF) is considering increasing the number of distribution centres. It has already opened 40.

Half of the country's schoolchildren do not have appropriate protection for chemical and biological warfare, the deputy education minister, Moshe Peled, said.

The government is also expected to rescind orders issued last week that make non-Israeli passport-holders ineligible for free gas

masks. Foreign workers have been demonstrating in Tel Aviv.

David Levy, who resigned as foreign minister last month, announced that as head of the Jordan Valley regional council he was buying 600 protection kits

"It is inconceivable that a foreign worker should feel fear while his boss walks about safely"

for Thai workers. "It is inconceivable that a foreign worker should feel fear while his boss... walks about safely," he said.

Germany is lending 180,000 protective kits against chemical and biological weapons. They are due to arrive later this week.

This will be followed by a US airlift of emergency su-

plies, including dozens of Patriot missiles, anthrax antidotes and vaccinations, gas masks and chemical warfare detectors.

Plastics factories are reporting an unprecedented demand for sheeting to make rooms airtight and there are signs the public is stockpiling food.

Advice on how to behave in the event of attack is being prepared for television and radio announcements. The IDF has opened a web site.

Since the 1991 Gulf war, all new buildings, residential and commercial, must include safety rooms fortified against attack.

In Palestinian-controlled areas of the occupied territories, meanwhile, the authorities have not had the resources to follow Israel's lead, but advice has been prepared on how to fabricate a makeshift gas mask from sheeting and charcoal.

The Palestinian health minister has asked for US

assistance in supplying masks and medical supplies. There are only 350 gas masks in the Gaza Strip for about a million inhabitants.

Mr Netanyahu said yesterday that he was disappointed that Palestinians, who showed support for President Saddam during the 1991 Gulf war, had repeated their behaviour

by holding rallies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In Ramallah about 300 demonstrators burned British, US and Israeli flags, chanting: "We will sacrifice ourselves for Iraq."

Mr Netanyahu said: "It brings back unpleasant memories and shows a need for a real acceptance of Israel. That has not sunk in."

Assad sacks his brother to clear the path of succession

Syria

Our Correspondent

PRESIDENT Hafez al-Assad has formally removed his brother Rifaat as one of Syria's three vice-presidents, an act which is being interpreted as another step towards preparing the succession for the president's son Bashar.

The presidential decree issued in Damascus on Sunday did not give any reason. His sacking is not expected to have any impact on the Iraq crisis, even though Presidents Assad and Saddam Hussein have been moving closer together in recent months.

There were unconfirmed reports at the weekend that 7,000 Syrian troops have been moved to Syria's border with Iraq.

Despite his title, Rifaat has been outside Syria's political mainstream since the mid-1980s. He made his name as his brother's enforcer. After a failed assassination attempt

on the president in 1980, units of his Defence Companies, a heavily armed force of 55,000, massacred 300 and wounded 500 Muslim Brotherhood inmates at a prison near the desert city of Palmyra.

Two years later he put down a rebellion by the same Sunni fundamentalist movement in Hama. Some estimates put the fatalities at 20,000, and much of the city was flattened by the three-week artillery bombardment.

In 1984, within months of his being named vice-president and when President Assad's most serious bout of illness was fuelling speculation about his successor, Rifaat moved his Defence Companies into Damascus.

When the president recovered he exiled Rifaat to Geneva and later Paris, and tactically eliminated his political power base. The Defence Companies were incorporated into the regular armed forces.

Rifaat was not allowed to return home permanently until their mother's funeral in 1992. She had been very close to her youngest son.

East-West 'partners' feel strain

Nato

Martin Walker in Brussels

THE United States and Britain face a challenge from inside and outside Nato to their threat of military action against Iraq, as the alliance convenes its new partnership council with Russia and eastern European states in Brussels tomorrow.

France, as a political member of Nato, and Russia, from outside the alliance, are vehemently warning against air strikes and pressing for a diplomatic solution. The crisis has put intense strain on Nato, which has been priding itself on devising a new post-cold-war role in Bosnian peacekeeping.

The crisis deepened yesterday amid conflicting claims that Turkish troops were entering northern Iraq to contain an expected flood of refugees from a bombing campaign.

Iraq will be on tomorrow's Nato agenda, and so will the almost resolved issue of keeping United States troops in Bosnia beyond this summer's deadline. Angry at the lack of support on Iraq from its al-

lies, the US is increasingly stressing the link between the two, in a way which seems likely to dominate this week's visit to Washington by the Nato secretary-general, Javier Solana.

Bosnia saved Nato by giving it a new peacekeeping partnership with Russia and other eastern European states. Consequently, it has become the challenge which Nato dare not see fail. But even success there may not be enough.

"Clearly, Europe is not yet the strategic actor it wants to be, nor the global partner the US seeks," Mr Solana said at the weekend. "These shortcomings do not result from 'too much US', as some still claim, but from 'too little Europe'."

Nato's mission, he argued, was to build "a new transatlantic security system", in which the US, Europe and Russia would co-operate. But that would require "a Europe willing and able to share more responsibility".

precisely what the Europeans are failing to demonstrate to Washington's satisfaction. US and British officials insist that Bosnia and the Gulf will not be formally linked at tomorrow's Nato council



Javier Solana: 'Not too much US but too little Europe'

meeting, despite warnings from US senators that the European allies had better toe the line over Iraq if they want to safeguard Washington's commitment to Bosnia.

Formally, there is a distinction between what Nato does as an alliance and what its member states do independently. But since the cold war ended Nato has spawned new councils and institutions with Russia and other non-members which have turned the military alliance into a top-level diplomatic forum. In this politicised Nato, French and

Russian criticism of US and British sabre-rattling means the discussion on Iraq will not stop at the planned formal exchange of information.

In the corridors of the council meeting, US and British officials will continue to lobby alliance members to back their hard line. They are confident of Canadian and Dutch support, and German logistical facilities and bases. And they expect that over the next 10 days most of the 16 members will offer at least moral support.

But the alarmist headline of a US "threat to leave Nato" in the weekend edition of the military paper Stars & Stripes, and the warning by Republican senators that the Gulf and Bosnia are closely linked, are haunting Nato. This is less because the threat is taken seriously than because the alliance sees another identity crisis looming. Once the Bosnian mission is over, the question "What is Nato for?" will arise again.

It already has. A senior Republican senator, John Warner, warned at the weekend: "Make no mistake, there is a direct relationship between decisions taken on Iraq in the next few weeks and US support for Nato."

Read the latest European news without using a phrasebook.

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

The Guardian Tuesday February 10 1998
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deep
out
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Think-tank finds an uninformed populace with little faith in what the union is doing

EU 'elitist and out of touch'

Stephen Bates in Brussels

NEU Kinnock, the European Union's Transport Commissioner, is expected to throw his weight behind a Blairite think-tank's view that the EU has dismally failed to win the approval or enthusiasm of its citizens.

The former Labour leader will say at a meeting in London today to launch the Deimos report that there needs to be an informed debate about the EU's future.

The report, which is also

endorsed by Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, backs the Government's "People's Europe" argument that the EU must become more attuned to its citizens. It says that the EU has never been more unpopular.

Mr Kinnock's advisers stressed last night that he was not questioning the idea of the EU — which he once campaigned against — but arguing that citizens needed to be better informed about where their money was going and what the EU was for.

The report concentrates on the marketing and promotion of the European idea.

It argues that the EU has failed to win popular support because it has aimed at the wrong targets, developing institutions rather than encouraging public enthusiasm.

It says: "To begin building trust with their citizens, European leaders must talk to the Europe that exists beyond the EU's institutions, rather than simply discussing the virtues and vices of economic and monetary union."

"Initiatives such as an EU passport, anthem, flag and day have helped to raise the visibility of the EU but failed to build a European cultural identity. These attempts have

been abstract and elitist — they have little relevance to most people's lives and problems."

It says Europeans are more sceptical about the EU than ever before. Only 46 per cent want their country to remain a member, and only 41 per cent think it benefits from being in it.

Thirty-six per cent think the EU is unreliable, only 9 per cent think it is right to make the common agricultural policy and economic and monetary union priorities, and just one in 50 claims to be very well informed about the EU.

How far the EU has to go to achieve a sense of identity is shown by the fact that 45 per cent say they do not feel at all European, more than half say they do not speak a second language, and fewer than 2 per cent choose to live in another member state.

The figures have been compiled from recent opinion polls in various member states. The disclosure that fewer than half support membership was first made in an EU barometer poll of more than 40,000 people in all 15 member states, published last year.

The report, written by De-

mos's senior researcher, Mark Leonard, was brought up in Brussels, says citizens may be hostile to EU institutions but are increasingly open to Europe's wider culture through food, languages and holidays.

Demos has enlisted "brand and identity consultants" to advise on how Europeans see themselves and will hold seminars and focus groups throughout the EU in coming months "to develop stories which could lie at the heart of European identity and a new European mission".

The report, written by De-

World news in brief

Lewinsky to go before grand jury

MONICA Lewinsky, the former White House intern at the centre of the Bill Clinton sex scandal, was yesterday served a subpoena to appear before a grand jury on Thursday.

The subpoena from the special prosecutor, Kenneth Starr, has been served with the key question of Ms Lewinsky's immunity from prosecution undecided, leaving open the possibility that the hearing could be delayed.

Her lawyer, William Ginsburg, claims that a deal has been done under which she can avoid charges of perjury and trying to coach Linda Tripp to commit perjury, and in exchange will give details of the alleged affair. — *Ed Vulliamy, Washington.*

Chinese hold dissidents

CHINESE police have arrested three pro-democracy activists linked to a United States-based dissident who was detained while on a secret mission to set up an opposition party, family members and a human rights group said yesterday.

The clampdown appeared to target activists who had been in contact with the exiled dissident Wang Bingzhang, who was detained in the central province of Anhui last Friday, the Hong Kong-based Information Centre of Human Rights and Democratic Movement in China said. After Mr Wang was seized, two dissidents were held in Shanghai and a third was detained in the eastern city of Hangzhou. — *Reuters, Beijing.*

Afghan quake toll

AFGHAN officials said yesterday they had buried more than 3,800 people killed in an earthquake that ravaged northern Afghanistan last week, but many bodies still lay unrecovered.

Bad weather hampered relief efforts, with only a small aircraft from the International Red Cross and a plane load of blankets from Pakistan landing more than two hours drive from the quake site in a remote northern area of the country.

The relief agency Médecins sans Frontières, in the first foreign estimate of casualties, yesterday confirmed Afghan statements that more than 4,000 had died. — *Reuters, Dushanbe.*

Shervardnadze escapes blast

AN EXPLOSIVE device was detonated near the residence of the Georgian president, Eduard Shervardnadze, in suburban Tbilisi last night, injuring several people. The president was unharmed.

A presidential spokesman called the incident an assassination attempt. It was the second apparent to kill Mr Shervardnadze, who was Soviet foreign minister before Georgia gained independence from the Soviet Union. He was cut by flying glass when a bomb exploded in his motorcade in August 1995.

The suspects included his former supporter, Dzhaba Ioseliani, who along with some of the other suspects had been a member of the outlawed Mikheiliani organization. — *AP, Tbilisi.*

El Niño floods

STORMS whipped up by El Niño unleashed flash floods and mudslides that killed at least 14 people and forced thousands in the Mexican border town of Tijuana to abandon their homes.

Overturned cars and mud blocked many streets, after heavy rains and high winds battered Tijuana last week. Police estimated that between 5,000 and 8,000 of the town's 1 million residents were forced from their homes and more than 300 homes were damaged or destroyed. — *AP, Tijuana.*

Europeans offer Algeria deal

VISITING European parliamentarians have offered Algeria their support for an inquiry into Algerian guerrilla networks in Europe in return for Algerian guarantees on human rights.

The delegation's leader, André Sauter, said there was a "counterpart" for the support his team was prepared to give to moves to return alleged guerrillas. "We can be ready to do that, but Algeria must be ready to make progress on human rights," he said.

Algeria has urged Europe to act against Algerians there, but has refused an outside inquiry into bloodshed in its country. — *Reuters, Algiers.*

Corsica honours fallen chief

The murder on Sunday of France's chief administrator in Corsica, Claude Erignac, brought the staff and pupils of the Laetitia high school on to the streets of the capital Ajaccio yesterday to declare "Enough" to terrorism.

President Jacques Chirac, flanked by the prime minister Lionel Jospin, other senior members of the government, and leading politicians, told thousands in the main square in Ajaccio that the state would do all in its power to punish the killers. Unidentified separatists have claimed responsibility for killing Erignac in punishment for his "colonial policies" of developing tourism. — *Agencies, Ajaccio. PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGES COET*

France fêtes 'republic without terror' of 1848

It lasted only three years but its values live on. **Jon Henley** in Paris on an exhibition marking the Springtime of the People



Paintings like *L'esclavage affranchi*, by N. Boss, celebrate the Second Republic's fundamental modern reforms, such as the abolition of slavery in the colonies

IT MARKED, said the novelist Victor Hugo, "a vigorous hatred of anarchy, a tender and profound love for the people".

Thirty years after the student-traveler uprisings of 1868 and more than two centuries since the storming of the Bastille, France this month is again showing its respect for revolt.

But Hugo's words, on a signed portrait that is part of a major new exhibition in the gilded Galerie des Fêtes of the national assembly, mark the anniversary of a different revolution.

The events of 1848, 150 years ago, are often overshadowed by the uprising that saw Louis XVI guillotined and the Rights of Man declared, half a century earlier. But opening the exhibition this week, Laurent Fabius, the speaker of the French parliament, described 1848 as "one of our defining moments".

"The questions that were first asked then are still vital today: equality, employment, education. We are here to rectify an injustice," he said.

Although it lasted only

until 1851, when Louis Napoleon staged a coup d'état to become emperor, the Second Republic established fundamental modern reforms. For the first time the entire male population of a major state was qualified to vote. The death penalty was abolished for political crimes, slavery was abolished in the colonies, the right to work was proclaimed and a limit set to the working day.

Across a continent gripped by economic de-

For the first time the entire male population of a major state was qualified to vote

pression and divided by social inequality, the uprising triggered protests and street battles in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Italy, in what became known as the "Springtime of the People".

Boulevard des Capucines fired on the unarmed crowd, and within hours some 1,500 barricades had been thrown up in the working-class quarters.

By French standards it was over very quickly. The king abdicated and fled to England. Parts of the national guard declared for the rebels, and by the afternoon of February 24 a disorganised army had retreated to the Tuileries gardens.

The Second Republic, headed by a provisional government, made up mainly of surprised republican politicians and journalists, was proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville.

Paris was euphoric and the government lost no time pushing through its reforms. "It was the Republic without the terror," Mr Fabius said. "It added fraternity to the liberty and equality vaunted in 1789."

It did not last long. The general election of April showed the rest of the country did not want a reactionary anti-socialist majority was returned, prompting workers to take to the streets again, in the "June Days".

Several thousand died under fire from government troops, and more reprisals afterwards, justified by accusations that the rebels had murdered two generals and the archbishop of Paris.

The exhibition marks the 150th anniversary of the revolution, including the events of February, the provisional government and the June Days, and contains a section devoted to uprisings elsewhere in Europe.

There are oil paintings laden with symbols, showing "La République" — a stern-faced woman in a white robe, an olive branch in one hand and a sword in the other — standing beside the globe, an allegory of the longed-for Universal Republic.

One is entitled: "The judgement of God: the reign of kings is over, that of the people begun."

As the exhibition underlines, they still live in hope.

After revolution, liberation

Cuba's gays peep out of the closet

Report: Phil Gunson

BY DAY it is another anonymous house in the decaying backstreets of old Havana. But as night falls on the Cuban capital the two-storey building is transformed, performers putting on make-up, wigs and false eyelashes for a clandestine gay cabaret. It is enough to make the hair of a Communist party militant stand on end.

Until recently, both the participants and the audience would have been jailed for what goes on here. Their homosexuality alone could earn them a three-month sentence for "public scandal" — not to mention a beating, and possible rape, by police.

For four years the government has permitted some self-employment, but drag artists and cabaret impresarios are not among the 167 currently approved occupations.

"These shows are really on the edge," said Lorenzo, the gay man who has been running this cabaret for the past two years.

"The police can knock the door down at any moment and arrest everyone here. They fine the householder 1,800 pesos (about seven months' wages) and confiscate the lights and sound system."

So far, Lorenzo's show has survived, partly thanks to a good relationship with the neighbours — who regu-



Once homosexuality alone was enough to earn a three-month jail sentence and a beating from the police. Now the gay scene in Cuba is testing the limits of official tolerance

larly get a free performance — and partly because the authorities have eased up on the repression.

After the 1959 Cuban revolution, homosexuals were labelled social and ideological deviants. Many lost their jobs and some were sent to labour camps. Thousands fled the country.

From about 1990 things began to change, and in 1992 President Fidel Castro declared that homosexuality was "a natural human tendency that must simply be respected".

"There is more tolerance now," said Vera Benzmam of Médecins sans Frontières, who is working on a government-approved programme of AIDS education and prevention.

Strawberry and Chocolate, a recent film about a gay intellectual who falls in

love with a straight party militant, also made a difference, she said. "But there is still no social acceptance."

"The only real change," said Lorenzo, who has been beaten and narrowly escaped a nine-month prison sentence, "is that instead of sending you to jail these days they just fine you."

Like his partner Vladimir — who nightly slips into a tight-fitting dress, falsies and a blonde wig for his performance as Camilla — Lorenzo is HIV-positive. They created the cabaret when both lost their jobs because of their medical condition.

They asked for their real names, and other identifying details, to be kept secret. "If we're shut down good," Lorenzo said.

Until recently it was obligatory for those testing

positive to check into sanatoriums, described by one former patient as "a kind of concentration camp".

There is still pressure to do so. Patients in the community have limited access to drugs, and, although in theory they are guaranteed a special diet, the food does not always arrive.

Like Lorenzo and Vladimir, ever-larger numbers of gays are coming out, not only in Havana but across the country, despite the lack of officially sanctioned entertainment and venues.

From regular gay volleyball matches on the beach to group sex in secluded parks, the limits of official tolerance are being tested. Occasionally, there is a backlash. In September police closed down El Periquito, a large, illegal gay disco in the capital.

The Guardian Valentine's Day

Last chance to place an ad for your Valentine

Valentine's Day is coming and surely there's no better way of expressing your affection than with a Guardian Valentine. Say it in prose, verse, or even rhyme, but in Valentine's Day, Saturday February 14, make certain your Valentine's message is in The Guide. We'll ensure that it is delivered on time by sending a message with an infatigable heart, stuffed with shocking pink feathers, and signed by the Guardian.

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Deadlines: Bookings must arrive by 5pm Tuesday February 10 to ensure your ad appears and the gift is dispatched no later than Wednesday February 11 (1st Class Post). Please Note: Limited number of gifts available

The Guardian INTERACTIVE

Love across the pond

Good news for America, bad news for Europe

TONY Blair always said he believed in education, education, education — now he can claim a victory for his teaching skills. Last week he spoke of needing to “educate” the British public, so they would understand why the Government was prepared to go to war with Iraq. Many found that phrase condescending — for it assumes dissent can only be based on ignorance — but today's Guardian/ICM poll suggests Mr Blair's pupils have learned their lesson fast: a clear majority supports British involvement in military action in the Gulf. The figure is higher among men than women, but highest of all among the young, two thirds of whom back the armed option. This last finding will shock many and is worth further study, suggesting today's youth differ from their predecessors in a dramatic way. While the kids of the 1960s were strumming of peace and love, and those in the 1980s were on the march against the bomb, today's generation seems to be the first utterly bereft of a peace movement. This might be a simple reflection of the general decline in British interest in “abroad” — highlighted last year by a BBC study which found viewers switching off foreign news. But it might also be a sign that today's young people are Thatcher's children after all: less compassionate, more hard-edged.

Perhaps the most revealing data, though, are those that deal with the much vaunted “special relationship” between Britain and the United States. It's become fashionable to knock the old Atlantic alliance, to condemn British leaders for grovelling to their Washington counterparts and to mutter how relations with Europe are really much more important these days. Indeed, the latter belief has been a tenet of liberal conventional wisdom for more than a decade. But our survey suggests British people feel differently. Some 61 per cent of us agree that Britain has more in

common with America than it does with Europe. Just 35 per cent chose the Continent over the US.

Accordingly, a clear majority thought it was fine for Mr Blair to give unconditional backing to Bill Clinton over Iraq. That is a remarkable figure, suggesting a British nation happy to defer wholly to Washington — even if 64 per cent of us like to believe that Britain does not always do what the US tells us to. The more lukewarm figures on Mr Blair's personal support for Mr Clinton over the Lewinsky affair do not undermine this conclusion. Instead, they probably reflect the public ambivalence over the private lives of politicians which has been such a feature of our national debate these last few weeks.

In the immediate term, Downing Street will draw pleasure from these numbers. Not only does Labour's overall poll rating remain high, but the party can rest assured that the public supports its current international stand — despite heavy criticism in the press. Mr Blair can also be comforted that there is a firm basis of popular support for his long-term plan for an ideological alliance with the United States. In a Britain that watches Seinfeld and the X-Files, but few Belgian sitcoms or Dutch drama, his ever deepening union with the US is unlikely to encounter strong resistance.

The long-term danger, however, might surface when Mr Blair seeks to lead his government into closer integration with Europe, chiefly by entry into the single currency. As the latest Demos survey, discussed opposite, confirms, there is great disenchantment with the European project — not just here in the sceptic Isle, but across the Continent. When Mr Blair finally urges us to trade our pounds for euros, he may regret leading a nation that seems stubbornly more at home with the dollar.

The global economy rules

But we must still prevent the damage it causes

THE ASIAN crisis has given greater urgency to the debate over the social dimension of global trade. While the region was booming, complaints about the neglect of minimum labour standards could be brushed aside as a covert assertion of Western protectionism. It was hard to query an Economic Miracle even if a few heretics thought it too good to last.

Now there is a new understanding that miracles for some can quickly turn into nightmares for many. Unemployment in Indonesia has doubled since last year to more than eight million — in a country which does not provide welfare for those out of work. In South Korea, the unions have accepted some unemployment benefits in exchange for layoffs: a million may soon lose their jobs. China now concedes that the competitive position of its own low-wage export industries may be affected. And a week ago, from the Olympian heights, World Bank president James Wolfensohn spoke of his concern for “the social side — on the issues of unemployment, poverty, migrant labour.” When Jove is uneasy, it really is a crisis.

At a conference yesterday in London organised by One World Action, new possibilities opened out for the post-miracle age. One positive outcome of the crisis — as Glensy Kinnock MEP observed — is that links are beginning to be drawn between economic health and good governance. The myth of a set of special Asian values which keeps undemocratic hierarchies in power has

been punctured along with the miracle. Whether the system is called chaebol or crony capitalism or simply corruption at the top, it stems from a lack of political accountability. The argument that improving workers' rights in Third World countries will weaken their competitiveness also looks more shaky. If an unfettered market for labour is the solution, why has it failed so dismally? We now see that an international trading system which sets one workforce against another can easily set in motion a downward spiral of devaluation and shrinking markets.

If this debate is to be productive, it must not become trapped between the rigid extremes of protectionism and globalisation. The global market exists in hard fact — (and as an article of faith in which even critics feel obliged to subscribe to). The question is how to regulate it and prevent the damage it can cause to hundreds of millions. The argument that globalisation helps raise wages — because foreign companies can offer better conditions — is only a partial truth. It also obliges local employers to offer worse conditions in order to compete. What has happened in Asia strengthens the argument for social clauses monitored by the International Labour Organisation, while sanctions are provided by the World Trade Organisation. The one international body speaking for workers, as the TUC Secretary John Monks said yesterday, should acquire more, not less, authority in a still inequitable global age.

A flawed and failed politician

Yet Powell's life showed the need for independent thought

HE ONCE said all political careers end in failure — and his own was no exception. He served in the Cabinet for one year only, spending decades in exile from his own party. When he stood for the Conservative leadership in 1965, he won just 15 votes out of 298. And yet the death of Enoch Powell has stirred a bigger response than his CV alone would ever suggest. The right-wing newspapers have worn black, while Britain's leaders have lined up to pay tribute to the scholar, soldier, poet and rhetorician. The Prime Minister was effusive: “However controversial his views, he was one of the great figures of twentieth century British politics.”

No one wants to speak ill of the dead, but there is something not quite right about a Labour leader mourning Enoch Powell in this way. Tony Blair would have been well within the bounds of good taste to have described some of the late Mr Powell's views as misguided,

wrong or even repugnant rather than merely “controversial.” And Britain's ethnic minorities might disagree with the word “great.” The full text of 1968's rivers-of-blood speech is instructive: the bile contained in Mr Powell's description of the “inflow” of immigrants as “literally mad” does not lose its acidity with time. On the contrary, that speech legitimated extreme nationalist and racist politics in Britain for the next decade and a half.

What should be mourned instead is the lack of such idiosyncratic, free thinkers in today's politics. In Powell's day, the likes of him, Michael Foot and Tony Benn could reach the centre of public life. Now if they exist at all, they are confined to the margins, edged out by the pager-wearing ranks of party loyalists. We may not lament the passing of Enoch Powell the man, but the independence of mind he personified is surely a loss.

The Miracles of St Harriet



Letters to the Editor

Taking the NHS to court

IN CRITICISING those who sue struggling public services, and in particular the National Health Service, Decca Aitkenhead (Sue the doctor, grab it and run, February 6) has perhaps forgotten three facts which are relevant at least to the distressing problem of damage to patients through clinical negligence. First, the responsibility for indemnification was transferred to individual trusts and health authorities from the medical defence organisations, representing doctors, by the government of the day, at the instance of the then Secretary of State. The potential disadvantages of this transfer were pointed out to Mr Clarke, who disregarded warnings. Events have subsequently forced the re-creation of a system similar to but less effective than that formerly operated by the defence organisations, but heavy financial burdens for which it is hard to budget still fall on individual trusts and health authorities. The total annual cost to the health service of these legal services and indemnity payments has not been revealed, but it is probably over £200 million.

Second, even when there is a very good case for compensation, the plaintiff in a medical negligence action is likely to have to endure a wait of many years, repeated and meticulous examinations of all the details of his or her case, numerous medical examinations and even an ordeal in court, before settlement is achieved. No one would lightly embark on such a proceeding. Lastly, those who work or have worked in the health service, as well as damaged patients, know well that complaints are likely to be disregarded and faulty systems left unchanged unless the responsible manager is threatened with legal process. Until an effective inspectorate is established, the NHS will need the spur to efficiency provided by the threat of action for clinical negligence. Sadly, that spur would not be effective if it did not draw blood.

The present system for compensation is unacceptable not only because of the effect on the finances of the public service described and deplored by Ms Aitkenhead, but also because it is deeply unjust to the complainant and seriously wasteful of public money. The solution surely lies in the establishment of an inspectorate with powers not only to examine, advise and correct but also to determine and enforce action with the least possible delay and the lowest possible expenditure on legal services. Alas, it would be very difficult for the present government to seek to apply this remedy to a health service fragmented and destabilised by its predecessor in 1980.

G L W Brown, 6 Woburn Grange, Woburn Green, Bucks HP10 0GU.

■ CAN only assume Decca Aitkenhead has not tried to get an honest or adequate explanation in answer to a complaint. Hospital management boards, like any other financially driven concern, now see complaints as the start of a process which they fear will result in them paying out financial compensation to distressed or grieving patients or relatives. As a consequence, with hospitals often acting on legal advice to admit to nothing, it has become almost impossible to get an accurate account or explanation if something has gone wrong. Very often, the person making the initial complaint was simply in need of honest answers to honest questions.

J Deherby, 82 Shacklegate Lane, London TW11 6SH.

■ AM so angry over Decca Aitkenhead's article. How dare she compare the trauma experienced by Mr and Mrs Brown with cases of leaking roofs and loose container lids. Social services departments, although apologetic, refuse to close the file on this couple and furthermore they are still on record with the police — a fine thing when you are told you are innocent.

The hospital must take most of the blame for pressing the panic button too soon. I agree that some people are silly or greedy, but if someone cannot get their name fully cleared they have no choice but to resort to the courts.

J Fletcher, 318 Wollaton Road, Nottingham NG8 1GN.

■ AND OUR CLERKENWELL ROAD SPECIAL INCLUDES A CUP OF COFFEE AND A REPO OF VOGUE.



roads and its closure has caused untold disruption, making any attempt to get to south London from the north a nightmare.

On top of this Hammer-smith Bridge, though a long way off and not among the highways of Thames, the bridge has also been closed. Why can't a relief bridge be built to help relieve the terrible traffic jams in this area? The question of why it has taken such a time to reinforce

the Clerkenwell Road bridge demands an answer. These protracted delays not only inconvenience cars and commercial traffic, they affect important bus routes and the delays have been a great burden for all of us to bear.

Only in England would the populace put up with such incompetence without taking to the streets. If only on foot! Terry Mullins, 41 Penn Road, London N7 9RE.

■ Cleaning up at the Town Hall

YOUR editorial The high cost of cheap papers and Polly Toynbee's accompanying piece on the proposed amendment to the Competition Bill (February 9) are both flawed. First, you ignore the fact that the new Competition Bill will provide the Office of Fair Trading with increased powers to deal with predatory pricing and other abuses of dominant positions. Why is a special provision needed for newspapers, particularly given that the Office of Fair Trading has twice undertaken investigations and found nothing untoward? Second, your editorial ignores the possibility that the independent's financial losses might reflect the fact that it is not a very good newspaper.

Third, if price were the only basis for buying a newspaper, why do I buy the Guardian, which — the Financial Times excepted — is the most expensive daily newspaper? Simply, because I believe that its content is, in general, of a higher quality and more interesting than that of other newspapers. Stop the special pleading and get back to serious journalism.

Simon Bishop, 98 Boston Place, London NW1 6EX.

■ Paper losses

YOUR editorial The high cost of cheap papers and Polly Toynbee's accompanying piece on the proposed amendment to the Competition Bill (February 9) are both flawed. First, you ignore the fact that the new Competition Bill will provide the Office of Fair Trading with increased powers to deal with predatory pricing and other abuses of dominant positions. Why is a special provision needed for newspapers, particularly given that the Office of Fair Trading has twice undertaken investigations and found nothing untoward? Second, your editorial ignores the possibility that the independent's financial losses might reflect the fact that it is not a very good newspaper.

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Simon Bishop, 98 Boston Place, London NW1 6EX.

■ We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear.



The rhetoric and the intellect: not entirely loving memories of Enoch

AS A MEMBER of Enoch Powell's old constituency (can I say that though we may be “provincial” types with “ugly accents”?) (Obituary, February 9) many thousands of us who heard Powell's racist speeches in the late sixties and afterwards opposed him with a vengeance. I am proud to say that our obituary was composed the night of May 1 when we elected a Labour member (Jenny Jones) to the said constituency, and thus put an emphatic end to Powell's legacy in Wolverhampton. Peter Higginson, Overton Walk, Wolverhampton, W4 4YF.

■ YET again, Mr Blair eschews taking a moral position. It would be difficult to find an apt expression for our thoughts towards his posthumous elegy to Enoch Powell. It is another example of Blair's unprincipled embrace of history's more recent repudiated (Murdoch, Thatcher, Kissinger et al).

Mr Powell's views were not “controversial” but fascistic and reprehensible. And to raise his profile from that of petty hate-monger to one of the “greatest figures of 20th century British politics” is a betrayal of the immense effort expended and pain endured in creating a Britain with a modicum of enlightened tolerance and cohesion. Nirpal and Shirdeep Singh, 318 Wollaton Road, Nottingham NG8 1GN.

THE name Enoch Powell does not normally command much admiration in left-of-centre circles. Yet it would be churlish to deny that there were many areas in which ideas usually associated with the left often found a sympathetic response from him. He was an unwavering and eloquent opponent of US nuclear weapons on British soil, and caused Mrs Thatcher some uneasy moments at the Despatch Box on this issue. He was entirely opposed to

the wholesale destruction of British manufacturing by successive Tory governments of the 1980s, and never subscribed to their Neanderthal social policies. Also, his opposition to the EC made him declare that he would rather live in an independent socialist Britain than in a Conservative Europe. Walker Cairns, 826 Wilmslow Road, Manchester M20 8RP.

MANY of the supposed enigmas about Enoch Powell are less puzzling if one looks at the generation to which he belonged. Open discussion of race was quite respectable before the Nazis made it otherwise. Michael Foot shares his romanticism and oratory, as Norman Shrapnell's obituary makes clear, and Douglas Jay shared his logic and scholarship. Powell's astonishing facility with languages, European and Asiatic (not mentioned by Shrapnell) would have been less unusual in a cultured Victorian. He was certainly not a xenophobe over Europe, even if many of his supporters were.

He was also very much the Victorian in his anti-Americanism — the left were pro-American until Sacco and Vanzetti — and in that his often brusque and aloof manner co-existed with travelling by tube and keeping, as a matter of principle, his number in the London telephone directory. Chris Jones, 20 Antoinette Gate, St Albans, Herts AL3 4JB.

ENOCH Powell may well have possessed a towering intellect but the intelligence of the people he sought to influence with his racist rhetoric was summed up for me by the message I saw scrawled on the back of a lorry a few days after his Rivers of Blood speech. It read “Good old AYNUR.” David Mitchell, Ipswich Way, Pettburgh, Suffolk, IP14 6DJ.

Whose roots are they anyway?

YOUR correspondent (Letters, February 6) accuses Manchester United of “abandoning its roots”. Wrong. It's the (ex-Manchester) Guardian which has done that. You print five anti-Man U letters on the anniversary of the Munich air crash. Have you forgotten that your own great football writer, H D Davies, was one of the crash victims? Were there no letters celebrating the present emergence of a group of young,

mostly Manchester, players who are approaching the sublime level of play I watched the Busby Babes achieve? None extolling the talent and dedication of Alex Ferguson, who has extended the spirit engendered by Sir Matt Busby by almost to the millennium? Or is it that the Letters Editor is a one of that endangered species, a City fan? Roger Brierley, 10 Greville Place, London NW6 5JN.

A Country Diary

SOMERSET. A new experience for me was the sight of a litter of 11 piglets, a few hours old, vigorously suckling a great sow. Right from the start the most dominant piglets suck on the front teats and a hierarchy is established with surviving runts at the tail end. The sow was a Large Black, the kind of animal a cottage family used to keep in the yard. These piglets were fathered by a white boar and are called Blues. They will be a pale bluish-grey colour with darker markings. The Blues has a nice balance of the various desirable properties like large hams or long loins for bacon. If you are assessing a pig, you look carefully at the roundness of the hams in relation to the relative fullness of the shoulder; the length of loin and (as I was shown), the way the animal walks. An obliging young “gil” — a female that has not yet farrowed — walked away from us in a demonstration of how the feet must not be

either pigeon-toed or too splay-footed. Pig farmers, like others, face problems. After the initial beef crisis, pork prices rose for a week or so, but consequent optimistic over-production then caused a drop. And there is a chance that regulations about the “mutilation” of animals may affect two traditional practices. Rings in the noses prevent pigs from rooting out grubs and are important to safety when a large pig has to be manoeuvred. Notches in the ears are vital to proper identification when metal tags do not hold as well in pigs' ears as in cows'. Technology might solve the identification problem, but it is good to know that, whatever technology or the CAP may come up with, this producer works closely with a local butcher. If the butcher foresees that his customers will require a lot of fat bacon, the farmer aims to breed the pigs to yield it.

JOHN VALLINS

Diary

Matthew Norman

CONGRATULATIONS to my old friend Gerald Kaufman. Gerald, son of a boy in Wilkes' kitchen cabinet, seems to have joined the Government, albeit in secret, with a berth at the Department of Culture. Interviewing Brian Sedgmore about his assault on Government arts policy on Friday's World At One, Nick Clark began by raising a ministry spokesman's suggestion that he never shown any interest in the arts before. This misinformation Mr Sedgmore swiftly dismissed, detailing his enduring love of literature, painting and music. However, in a taped interview Gerald (whose appearance was said to be "approved") then took the identical line, scornfully expressing his delight at Mr Sedgmore's sudden conversion to high culture. It could, of course, be Jungian synchronicity — Gerald refuses to discuss it. "I'm indeed any other matter with the Diary" — but, if he is working for Chris Smith, perhaps he ought to say so: if only to dismiss fears that his duties as chairman of the Select Committee keeping an independent eye on the Ministry of Culture.

IN his latest carefully contrived spontaneous outburst against the BBC, how satirical to note Alastair Campbell including the insult "dumbed down". All has always tended towards the high-brow. This is why his favourite medium for Mr Tony Blair's interviews is GMTV... not just as cerebral since Anthea Turner left, perhaps, but with Eamon Holmes, still so much more gravitas-laden than Newsnight or Panorama.

FOLLOWING the row over Michael Wear's departure from the Beeb, Alan Yentob had a letter in Saturday's paper to "set the record straight". It is, he says, the BBC's Controller Peter Salmon, who must take all the credit for ditching plans to adapt Janet Neel's novels. No one will thank Mr Yentob for underlining this fact more than Salmon himself. Still, it can't have been an easy decision given that, under her real name — Janet Cohen — Ms Neel sits on the BBC board.

A PRESS release arrives proclaiming what experts are describing as "arguably the most significant academic appointment since Donald Treford became Professor of Journalism at Sheffield". My old friend Bernard Ingham has been made Visiting Professor at Middlesex University Business School. The School's Dean, David Kirby, says he is delighted in a press release which details many of Bernard's activities, but is notable for a glaring omission: there is nothing whatever on his astrological career (only on Sunday, he contributed yet again to the Sunday Telegraph magazine column of top starsman Psychic Smith). "Do you really think we should mention it?" asks Paul at the PR company when we are talking. "Well, if you think it's important, we'll try to work something in."

THE Diary is compelled to have words with the Chelsea and England public Guardian reader — he has been barracked by opposing crowds as "a poof" for this habit — he carries an onerous duty to set an example. With his petulance at Highbury on Sunday, Mr Le Sans let his club down, his fans down, his manager down, and himself down. Most of all, however, he let this newspaper down. I hope it will not be necessary to return to this subject. If it happens again, he will be transferred instantly to the Independent.

A S honorary president of a forthcoming festival of British theatre in Brussels, Neil Kinnock faced a problem yesterday when announcing the list of plays to a press conference: the Royal Court's offering is Mark Ravenhill's Shopping And Fucking. Remarking that "no politician could announce that", Mr Kinnock suggested a softer title: Retailing And Fornicating... "or for reasons of poetry, perhaps Consuming And Coting."

WERE NOT SURE THAT YOU'LL FIT IN HERE, MR. POWELL

Purveyor of tosh to the British

Commentary
Hugo Young

ENOCH Powell made you listen. He had the gift of menace and surmise in greater proportion than any speaker I ever heard. With the exception of Ian Macleod, all his contemporaries and successors in the Tory party made listening a trial. These days, listening has been replaced by watching, doctoring, sussing out. There is no such thing as a public orator. There are sound-bite operatives and soft-sophisticates, neither of which functions requires a classical education or a concern for English grammar. Powell deployed verbs, literary allusions, the ever-imminent possibility of shock.

Enoch Powell also made you think. He didn't recoil from original argument, or the insult. He had a better mind than almost all his peer group. Considered simply as an instrument, a radio-cast artefact, it was hard to beat. He was steeped in history, a fount of scholarship.

Nobody was better at conferring iron logic on a mental process that began in the mists of prejudice: which is the way, after all, most politicians — most people — build their attitudes. As a stimulant to prejudice, for and against, Powell became uniquely reliable. In both these capacities, orator and thinker, he was rare in politics. Nobody else could set the juices racing all round the House. Intellectually, and one might even say morally, he stood above the mass of men and women who take on the workaday task of running the country. He uttered from great heights of superiority. There's a place for such a vessel of independence, which is not to be judged wanting because of its failure to serve in cabinet for more than a single year, 1962-63. Politicians with pretensions half as high as Powell's would regard his wilderness record with despair, and the man himself often reflected on what politics is all about. And the absence of office isn't the reason for casting a baleful eye on the Titanic life that was so offensively memorialised in yesterday's papers.

Having failed with office, Powell opted for the role of prophet. The question a prophet must face is not whether he spoke messianically, or argued with a clarity that improved on Delphi, but whether he was more often right than wrong. Did he wisely foretell the future? Was his case persuasive? Did he see what others missed? All political careers, Powell once said, end in failure. Here, at least, he knew what he was talking about.

He was a good prophet. I think, on only one count. As a political economist, he argued for the importance of money before monetarism was ever heard of. His political incorruptness in analysing some of the key causes of inflation, from the mid-1960s onwards, is impressive to recall. Even proto-Keynesians are obliged to acknowledge that what was once unmentionable in polite society has become commonplace. In the British political world, Powell was its first, rather courageous, beguiler.

On every other continuous public question — I exempt some forays into individual cases, such as the Holo Camp scandal — what is impressive about Powell is not that he was wrong. He was a bad prophet and, as such, a worse politician.

On immigration, which made him famous, his speculations were not merely incendiary but startlingly mistaken. The non-white numbers never reached the heights he forecast, and even though they became higher than when he spoke, never had the destructive social consequences he prophesied. He said blood would flow. There has been very little blood. He said Britain could not become multi-racial. Though things are far from perfect, both white Britain and black Britain have proved him malignantly in error. Powell's whole immigration line was not just an unfortunate forensic solecism, as his friends were saying yesterday. It revealed existential misjudgment about the nature of Britain and the British.

On international affairs, a similar fallacy pervaded him. Britain Alone seemed to be his pitch. That's the only explanation for the statesman *manqué* who could find no ally fit to be received into the British embrace. The Commonwealth, he argued, should be disregarded because it did not exist. "No amount of talk and pretence will make it reality," he wrote in July 1966. But neither was America acceptable. It was "humili-

ating" to be a US "satellite", he wrote in December 1966. Wherever he looked, from NATO to Ireland, Washington was a source of evil and folly. Britain had been "Finlandised" by the US for 30 years, he wrote in September 1968.

Worst of all was the European Community, over which Powell broke with the Tory Party, and which he spent 30 years denigrating as the destroyer of the British nation-state. Once upon a time, he was a pro-European, who in

the middle 60s contributed to a zealous federalist tract. But he soon gave that up. The trenchant rhetoric masked a mind, it seemed, in feeble search of anything that sustained the narrowest, whitest, purest, most English form of Britishness.

A late flirtation with the Soviet Union, some time before it threw off the chains of Stalinist Leninism, identified the last, most perverse allegiance Powell was able to recommend to the country he loved.

His legacy is a coterie of cultists who worship the very mention of his name. They're not unimportant, being prominent in the clique that now wants to destroy the Tory Party as we've known it. They long for the world he despised, a more incandescently in the romance of Britishness: define that term with self-referential insularity: hark for ever backwards not ahead: maintain an attitude to the world whose unreality does perfect justice to the man they blindly revere. Reading them yesterday, one better understood how important to the romance of a certain kind of politics is the incorrigible failure of the hero in question to persuade more than a tiny fraction of the people that his diagnoses reflect the truth.

What persuaded the Prime Minister to describe this singularly unsuccessful politician as one of the "great figures of 20th-century politics" is hard to understand. Are there no limits to the rightward inclusiveness of New Labour? Yes, Powell had a brilliant mind. Yes, he applied his great intellect to the large problems of the age. Yes, he could hold an audience in magnetic thrall. But the great intellect's triumph, ironically, was of style over substance.

On the substance, he spent three decades talking about a nation that does not, and should not, exist.

On immigration, his speculations were not merely incendiary but startlingly mistaken.

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COMMENT AND ANALYSIS 9

What Clinton and Blair really say in private



Mark Steel

WHAT must Clinton have thought when Blair said, "I'm proud to call him not just a colleague but a friend"? It was probably "Hang on a minute, I hardly know you." Maybe for a moment he was worried that Blair would carry on and say, "Indeed I am honoured to state that there is something physical, dare I say it, deeply sensual and yet unashamedly erotic about the far-reaching respect I have for his handling of the budget deficit. Oh Bill, tell me it's not true about that awful Monica woman. Ahem. I will now take questions on the Northern Ireland peace process."

In total Blair and Clinton can have met no more than half a dozen times, and had a number of work-related phone calls. When I worked in an office I knew the bloke who delivered the stationery as well as the mail. But it never crossed my mind to say, "I'm proud to call you not just an efficient purveyor of staples but a friend."

Unless, that is, the whole thing is a PR exercise designed to boost the international standing of both, and the chances of a good war. This makes more sense than to imagine they have a genuine rapport as joint discoverers of a "third way", a new consensus between monetarism and liberalism. For the man who said, "We wish Ronald Reagan well, for he exhorted us to carry on until the twilight struggle against communism was won", was Bill Clinton. Just as with the death of Enoch Powell, Tony Blair has become the greatest admirer of Margaret Thatcher.

They make a good photo, not because of friendship that springs from the third way, but because of necessity that springs from the first way.

IN THE long run being "friends" with American presidents doesn't do British prime ministers any good. Even Margaret Thatcher, when all she and Reagan went through together, is no longer appreciated by him. If she visited him now all he'd say is, "You're not my sister. I mustn't forget my yellow ones. I'm an actor, you know."

sonal matters with, but that can't have happened between these two. Maybe the turning point was the session on targeting B and Cs during mid-term elections, after which Blair thought, "I now have a special and personal bond between us."

What would the two of them ever have to talk about as friends, once the pleasantries and business was over? Clinton would take Blair for a game of golf and say something like, "I tell you what, Tony, I reckon that Madeleine Albright's up for it," while Blair went bright red and got the conversation back to inflation.

Later on Bill would perform a blast on the saxophone and say, "Come on, Tony, let's party. I thought you were in a rock band." And the Blair would mutter, "That was a long time ago Bill," reach for his coat and thank Hillary for the wine they hadn't drunk.

The real nature of their friendship was given away by Blair's comment, at the start of his visit, that "over the next two days our ties will get stronger". How did he know? You can know someone for ages, but until you go away with them for a couple of days you have no idea that they take ages in the bathroom, have a foul temper in the mornings and leave drips all over the toilet seat. So who can say for certain that over a weekend their "ties will get stronger"?

They make a good photo, not because of friendship that springs from the third way, but because of necessity that springs from the first way.



Re-branding Europe

The EU so far is a public relations disaster, says Mark Leonard's report from the thinktank Demos

ACROSS Europe, the EU's standing with its citizens has hit rock bottom: only 46 per cent support their countries' EU membership — fewer than at any time in the past 20 years. Only 41 per cent think their country benefits from EU membership. This figure is lower than at any time before.

Support for the single currency has fallen below 50 per cent for the first time since records began. Only half of Europeans identify themselves with EU institutions or with Europe as a whole. Euro-scepticism, for so long regarded as a "British disease" has spread across the EU — even to the heartlands of France and Germany.

There is an extraordinary contrast between the success of the EU at spreading peace, prosperity and democracy, and its lack of legitimacy. In many ways it is the ultimate public relations disaster.

The EU is unpopular because the troubles stored up over 40 years of technocratic integration by a political elite are now catching up with it. People do not know about the EU: 80 per cent admit to being "not very well informed", or not informed at all.

The EU seems irrelevant to people's needs. It devotes more time and money to the Common Agricultural Policy and European Monetary Union (EMU) than to anything else — priorities for just 9 per cent.

People don't see any practical benefits. Only 41 per cent think their country benefits from EU membership and only one in three thinks EU institutions are reliable.

The EU has no leadership or sense of mission. The original clarion calls — peace, prosperity and democracy — have been undermined by events. National leaders use the EU as a scapegoat rather than mobilising support for it.

People don't feel part of the EU. Only half of EU citizens feel European and barely one in 10 identify more with Europe than with their country.

EU leaders have relied on fatalism to push integration ever deeper. Public resistance was met with glib metaphors about trains leaving stations — effectively blackmailing citizens into acquiescence.

But, as the EU accumulates more power, and seems less relevant to people's everyday lives, this "permissive consensus" has worn thin.

But beneath the apathy and ignorance of EU citizens, the EU enjoys a powerful latent legitimacy — one that it rarely lets into. Opinion polls tell us that EU citizens want the environment, international crime and terrorism, common defence and military policy, and job creation as problems beyond the grasp of national governments. They expect European institutions to tackle the "problems without frontiers". (72 per cent see protecting the environment and solving international crime and terrorism as priorities; 68 per cent support a common defence and military policy.)

The other aspects of this "latent legitimacy" are the fragments of a European identity which are surreptitiously stored away in holiday snapshots, in memories of art, literature, music, buildings and landscape. The same people who are hostile to EU institutions are becoming more open to European food, languages and holidays. If the EU succeeds in mobilising this "permissive consensus" into a more democratic legitimacy...

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Haroun Tazieff

A poetic life of fire under the volcano

HAROUN Tazieff, who has died aged 83, was an adventurer of the old school and one of the most influential volcanologists of the century. Never shy of controversy, his forthright manner belied his concern for those at risk from natural hazards. Through books and documentary films, especially *Les Rendez-vous du Diable* (1959), he opened to audiences across the world the beauty and fascination of volcanoes, inspiring future generations of volcano scientists and earning the accolade "poet of fire" from Jean Cocteau.

Born in Warsaw, Tazieff was raised in Russia and Belgium by his Polish mother, a chemist, widowed soon after the start of the first world war. After flitting with ideas of exploring the North Pole or joining the International Brigade, he appeared set on a less dramatic career as an agronomy engineer at the School of Mines in Liège, which, interrupted by his years with the Resistance, led to the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in 1945.

A keen mountaineer, Tazieff was soon attracted to the Virunga mountains, and in 1948, he led the first expedition to the volcano Nyiragongo, whose summit crater was then host to a seething lake of molten lava. Once smitten, he never looked back and, after eight years exploring Africa, launched his lifetime project to visit the world's most active volcanoes. Tazieff rapidly acquired considerable experience in the varieties of volcanic eruptions, while his documentaries rendered him a household name across continental Europe. By

1958, he was an adviser to Unesco, by 1968 a research director for the CNRS (the French National Centre for Scientific Research), and by 1984 France's Secretary of State for Major Hazards.

Blunt speaking was a Tazieff trademark throughout this period, and he dismissed as charlatans scientific rivals who felt him too cavalier for his position. A classic example, which cemented his reputation for many, occurred in 1976 during a volcanic crisis on the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. When the volcano began rumbling after a 20-year repose, scientific advisers to the island's governor recommended evacuation of some 74,000 people. During the evacuation, which brought the island's economy to its knees, Tazieff insisted that the volcano posed no serious threat. As it turned out, the eruption did not become serious but, even so, Tazieff felt obliged to depart as director of France's prestigious Institute of the Physics of the Globe (IPG).

CONTROVERSY continued four years later during the eruption of Mt St Helens in the United States. Again, Tazieff suggested that evacuation measures were premature. Five weeks later, 61 people died in one of America's largest eruptions. Some cite this case to present Tazieff as a gung-ho volcanologist. However, his key argument at the time was that weeks might pass before the volcano entered a truly dan-

gerous stage and, if evacuated too early while no threat was apparent, people would become impatient and spontaneously return, just as the eruption entered a more violent phase. Indeed, most of those killed had deliberately avoided roadblocks to get a closer view of the mountain.

Away from volcanoes, Tazieff applied his unorthodox approach to environmental issues in general. Dismissing well-known ecological organisations for intellectual terrorism, he nevertheless joined protests in the late 1970s against France's accelerating atomic energy programme, and, in 1980, co-founded the environmental group *Génération Ecologie*.

He wrote two volumes of autobiography, *From Petrograd to Nyiragongo* (1991) and *The Vagabond of Volcanoes* (1993). They show that, despite his firebrand behaviour, Tazieff always accepted responsibility for his actions, a characteristic which earned him the respect of the French public and, for the last decade, a place among the top six French personalities most popular at home. This feeling was summarised last week by Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, who said that Tazieff was loved by many French because of his personality and his commitment on the ground; he was a man of the volcano, a man sometimes a bit volcanic.

Christopher Kilburn

Haroun Tazieff, volcanologist, born May 11, 1914; died February 2, 1998



On lava watch... Tazieff shows Italy's President Saragat the 1971 eruption of Mt Etna



Nationalism or bust... McIntyre was a fundamentalist, suspicious of compromises like devolution, which might frustrate the goal of independence

Robert McIntyre

Standing for Scotland

ROBERT McIntyre, who has died aged 84, was the first MP to represent the Scottish National Party in the House of Commons, although his tenure was extremely brief. He also pursued a distinguished medical career and was, for many years, prominent in the civic affairs of Stirling.

McIntyre joined the SNP in 1940 and became its national secretary. He had spent his early days in Motherwell, where his father was a United Free minister, and the calling of a by-election in the Motherwell and Wishaw constituency in April 1945 offered him the opportunity to stand in his home town. The wartime coalition was still in place and the Conservatives in these days a formidable force in industrial Scotland — did not stand. In a straight fight with Labour, McIntyre won by 617 votes. Three months later, with normal party hostilities resumed, the anti-Labour vote split and the seat

was comfortably returned to the Labour fold.

McIntyre made his maiden speech on a Scottish education Bill, when he described English education as being organised on a "caste basis" while Scotland enjoyed a "democratic" tradition. The two, he contended, could not mix. The other most notable incident surrounding his short stay at Westminster involved the pointless tradition of requiring two sitting MPs to accompany a new member at the Bar of the House before he could take his seat. The Speaker's ruling that McIntyre could not be sworn in unless he accepted the sponsorship of two Labour MPs, but the rule never changed.

His first question in the House also brought him into disagreement with Churchill. McIntyre wanted to know how many Scots casualties there had been in the second world war. It was not a question which suited the mood of the hour and Churchill, rejecting an "analysis of race" told him: "Surely, it is enough to say that no more splendid record exists than of the Scottish nation in this war, although one might sometimes have a word for London and a few

other places in England, Wales and Northern Ireland."

McIntyre stood on 11 further occasions for Westminster and always polled respectably. He was a fundamentalist in nationalist terms and remained deeply suspicious of alliances and accommodations, such as support for a parliament with limited devolved powers, which might frustrate the sole objective of independence. After McIntyre's foray into the Commons, the Nationalists had to wait a further 22 years for a by-election success. Their representation peaked at 11 during the 1970s, on the back of the "Scotland's Oil" campaign, but then receded.

THE loss of all but two of their seats in the 1979 general election gave rise to an attempt to move the party to the left. This set the stage for McIntyre's last decisive intervention in party affairs, though he remained its acknowledged elder statesman until the time of his death. After losing the presidency of the SNP at its 1980 conference, when some other leading veterans were also ousted, he denounced the so-

called 79 Group as "nothing less than a conspiracy to subvert the soul of the party through the use of 'ad hoc' policy types of practices."

Two years later, the old guard fought back and McIntyre observed with satisfaction that maturity had triumphed over "juvenile politics". McIntyre was the provost of Stirling on three occasions until the reform of local government ended the historic burgh's separate existence. In 1976, he was given an honorary degree by the University of Stirling in honour of his contribution to the town's early development. His high standing derived in no small part from his medical work as a chest consultant in the area throughout a period when the eradication of tuberculosis was achieved. Lord (Harry) Ewing, who defeated McIntyre three times, recalls that he treated all the miners who had respiratory illnesses and that they held him in high regard.

He is survived by his wife Lila and their son.

Brian Wilson

Robert McIntyre, physician and politician, born December 15, 1913; died February 2, 1998

Jill Allibone

Victorian values

THE architectural campaigner, historian and magistrate, Jill Allibone, who has died aged 65, was one of the hard-hitting of the Victorian Society, always happy to give some damned developer, idle architect or cloying cleric a kicking-off for potential vandalism, self-righteousness or, worst of all, pig-ignorance. An uncompromising respect for the ingenuity and flair of 19th-century English architecture that she retained to the end, she was a woman of iron will. But she was saved from intolerance by a vivid sense of humour and a conviviality inseparable from her relish for battle.

She lived in Kent, where her finest moment was the fight for the retention of St Luke's, Maidstone, a handsome Victorian church interior, which the vicar and his, as Jill felt, excessively bovine flock wanted to turn fashionably upside down and inside out. She took on that formidable institution of obscurantism and bias, a Church of England conservatory court, and won. The parishioners, however, were permitted to remove the church's pews on condition that they were stored at their expense. Latterly, it made Jill hopping mad that they sued the diocesan chancellor to be allowed to sell the pews on the grounds that they had kept them long enough.

There was always the air of the colonial administrator about Jill. She was born Jill Rigden at Abadan, then in Persia, where her father managed an oil refinery, but was sent back to school in England. When war impended, she returned to Abadan, was then evacuated to South Af-

rica and eventually finished her school days at Godolphin's in Salisbury. Her Persian childhood made her, inter alia, meticulous over the preparation of rice.

A spell at St Martin's School of Art having convinced her that she was fitter for the history than the practice of art, she transferred to the Courtauld Institute in 1954. By the time of her graduation, she was married to the litigation lawyer, David Allibone, and heavily pregnant. She divided the next decade between hauling up three girls and helping her husband's business inter-



Allibone: relishing the battle

ests along. She became a JP in 1968, serving solidly on the South Westminster Bench. But other interests supervened. In quest of a doctoral subject, she was persuaded by Nikolaus Pevsner to take on Anthony Salvin, one of several major unsearched Victorian architects. Salvin's mixed record of farthing castles, country houses (some romantic, some deadly dull) and restorations suited Jill's sleuthing talents, her zest for travel and her undisguised ad-

miration for the Victorian gentry. By the time she had got her doctorate into book form, in 1988, she had taken on another country-house architect, but of a subtler type, George Devey, on whom she published in 1991.

These biographical studies show the humbler side of Jill Allibone's character. She wished in essence to do right by her subjects — to set the record straight and proffer accurate information about two prominent architects, who were picturesque to the point of flamboyance in their works, but comparatively unknown. Though a latecomer to the committees of the Victorian Society, she felt frequent affinity with the more dogmatic of her fellow-zealots in the conservation cause. But, as the society's vice-chair, she took her responsibilities brisily, having too much horse sense and organising ability to let emotion rule alone.

The last outcome of her drive was the Memorials and Mausolea Trust, which she set up in 1996 to put much-needed "go" into the care of the vast tonnage of splendid memorials lying decrepit and unclaimed in our churchyards and cemeteries. Tell Jill that the heritage industry was overdue or played out, and she would point vehemently to the funeral art of our ancestors. The fledgling trust will be her own best memorial.

She leaves a husband and three daughters.

Andrew Saint

Jill Spencer Allibone, architectural historian, born April 28, 1932; died February 3, 1998

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

THE policy of the TUC on union recognition is that all staff should be able to choose whether or not to join a union. It is not TUC policy that firms with fewer than 20 staff should be exempt, as we wrongly reported yesterday.

THE draft Privacy and Defamation Bill carried in Saturday's paper was incomplete in certain respects. Anyone wanting a full version should contact Pauline Willis on 0171-339-9544, or fax a request to 0171-339-9597.

WE should have made it clear that the photograph of demonstrators outside the V & A museum used in last Friday's paper was taken in the mid-1980s. There were no demonstrations when charges were introduced in October 1996.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor, Ian Mayes, by telephoning 0171 339 9539 between 10am and 5pm Monday to Friday.

Death Notices

BARBER, William Stanley 83, February 6, 1998. Clinical Director of Psychology and Psychotherapy Services, Liverpool John Moores University. He was a devoted husband of Sue, father of Luke and son of Lynn. Service and cremation at Southport Crematorium on Friday, February 13th, at 2.00pm. Family flowers only please. Donations if desired to Mental Health Charities or Quaker Relief, Southport, 01524 600000. Family flowers only please. Donations if desired to St James Church, 0171 339 9539 between 10am and 5pm Monday to Friday.

HATFIELD, Peter, died as he has lived, bravely and compassionately. He, the South African and English family man, their love, Funeral service on Thursday 12th February at 2.30pm, Laurence Parson Church, 10, St. James' Street, Southport. The Rev. Canon Collins Educational Trust, St. James' Church, Southport, 01524 600000.

MURRAY, Betty 84, peacefully at Pendergast Nursing Home on Friday 6th February 1998. Family and close friends service at 11.00am on Thursday 12th February. Memorial service to be arranged at 11.00am on Saturday 13th February. Family flowers only please. Donations if desired to St James Church, Southport, 01524 600000.

TURNBULL, Michael Robert 60, peacefully at home on Friday 6th February 1998. Family and close friends service at 11.00am on Thursday 12th February. Memorial service to be arranged at 11.00am on Saturday 13th February. Family flowers only please. Donations if desired to St James Church, Southport, 01524 600000.

CHESWELL, Chris 50 today. Happy Birthday and love from both and Douglas. To place your announcement telephoning 0171 713 4123 or fax 0171 713 4123 between 10am and 5pm Monday-Friday.

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TIME
COMPUTER SYSTEMS

Birthdays

Larry Adler, harmonica player, composer, writer, 84; Robert Alston, high commissioner to New Zealand, 60; Michael Apted, film director, 57; Field Marshal Sir Nigel Bagnall, former Chief of the General Staff, 71; Sir

Michael Bishop, chairman, British Midland Airways, 56; Olwyn Bowey, painter, 52; Dr Alex Comfert, physician, poet, novelist, 78; Robert Flack, singer, 60; James Alexander Gordon, broadcaster, 62; Prof John Heslop,

Harrison, botanist, 78; Greg Norman, golfer, 43; Nicholas Owen, broadcaster, 51; Leontyne Price, soprano, 71; Gail Rebuck, chairman and chief executive, Random Century, 46; Mark Spitz, swimmer, 45; Robert Wagner, actor, 68.

Analysis Film distribution

Five big Hollywood distributors determine your cinema choices. Shouldn't the Europeans be given more of a chance? By **Dan Glaister**

A narrow field of view

YOU are in the multiplex, dazzled by the bright lights and the smell of popcorn. Before you a series of posters advertises the current film releases. The choice, although large, is not extensive. There is the latest Disney venture, *Flubber*, the mega-buck *Titanic*, a Hollywood remake of *The Jackal*, *Devil's Advocate*, and, if you're lucky, the latest art-house-multiplex crossover *Boogie Nights*. Whichever persuades you to buy a ticket, one thing is guaranteed: it will be made by one of the big American studios.

Despite the much-talked-about renaissance of the British film industry, Hollywood still dominates cinema-going in this country. Distribution and exhibition, the two key areas in actually getting people to watch a movie, are controlled by the big names of the cinema. The Hollywood studios make and distribute their own films. It is a neat arrangement — and yet one that is increasingly under attack.

One flank in this attack is the success — freak, some might say — of British films. *The Full Monty*, while not strictly speaking a British film (like *The English Patient*), it was made with American money, has reminded the distributors that British cinema can have legs at the box office. Those two films, coupled with other recent successes such as *Trainspotting*, *Shooting Fish*, *Bean* and *Brassed Off*, have moved out of the art-house repertory sector to cash in at the multiplex. But these successes are accidents, subject to the same laws of cyclical misfortune that saw Colin Welland trumpet the false dawn of British film back at the Oscars in 1982, only to be faced with a string of British flops. Undoubtedly, however, there is a Full Monty effect, with less likely films sucked into the multiplexes in the slipstream of the success of the Sheffield strippers. Some, however, are not sucked in: *Regeneration* and *WELCOME TO SARAJEVO* both failed to capture significant audiences.

The other flank in the attack comes from a very different source. Buried in the business news, amid the latest edicts from Brussels, the European Commission last week had something to tell the world. Fired by its competition lawyers, it issued a State-

ment of Objections expressing its preliminary views concerning the application by United International Pictures to renew its exemption under European Union competition rules. Just what this means is not clear. The basis of the distribution system in this country could be changed beyond recognition.

UIP was set up in 1981 by three major American studios, Paramount, Universal and MGM. These big players decided that they needed to pool resources to save money in Europe and to improve distribution of their films. The savings, they said, were vast: the effect would be to let them make more films, which they would then show in British cinemas.

The market, it seemed, just needed a little helping hand, and everything would be fine. The European Commission, as well as national watchdogs across Europe (such as the Monopolies and Mergers Commission in Britain), investigated, and cleared the joint venture. The EU gave UIP an exemption to allow it to operate, an exemption that was last renewed in 1988. The MMC gave UIP a clean bill of health when it carried out its investigation into film exhibition and distribution in 1994.

But now something has changed. The Commission says the film industry is now so healthy that there is no need for the three studios involved in UIP to receive special treatment. It also suggests that the UIP arrangement is "potentially restrictive" on its competitors. With the US majors filling cinemas and multiplexes with their well-promoted fare, it is all but impossible for a smaller operation to break into the market. UIP has cried foul, saying that nothing has changed, and that the Commission is responding to the sort of political pressures that led France to introduce quotas for foreign films.

The future of UIP will now be determined between its lawyers and the Commission, but the row serves to highlight one of the major problems facing Europe's nascent film industries: exhibition and distribution. Although UIP says it has a record second to none in the distribution of European films, showing 231 Hollywood still dominates. In 1996, American films accounted for 77 per cent of British box office (1). Only *Trainspotting* interrupted

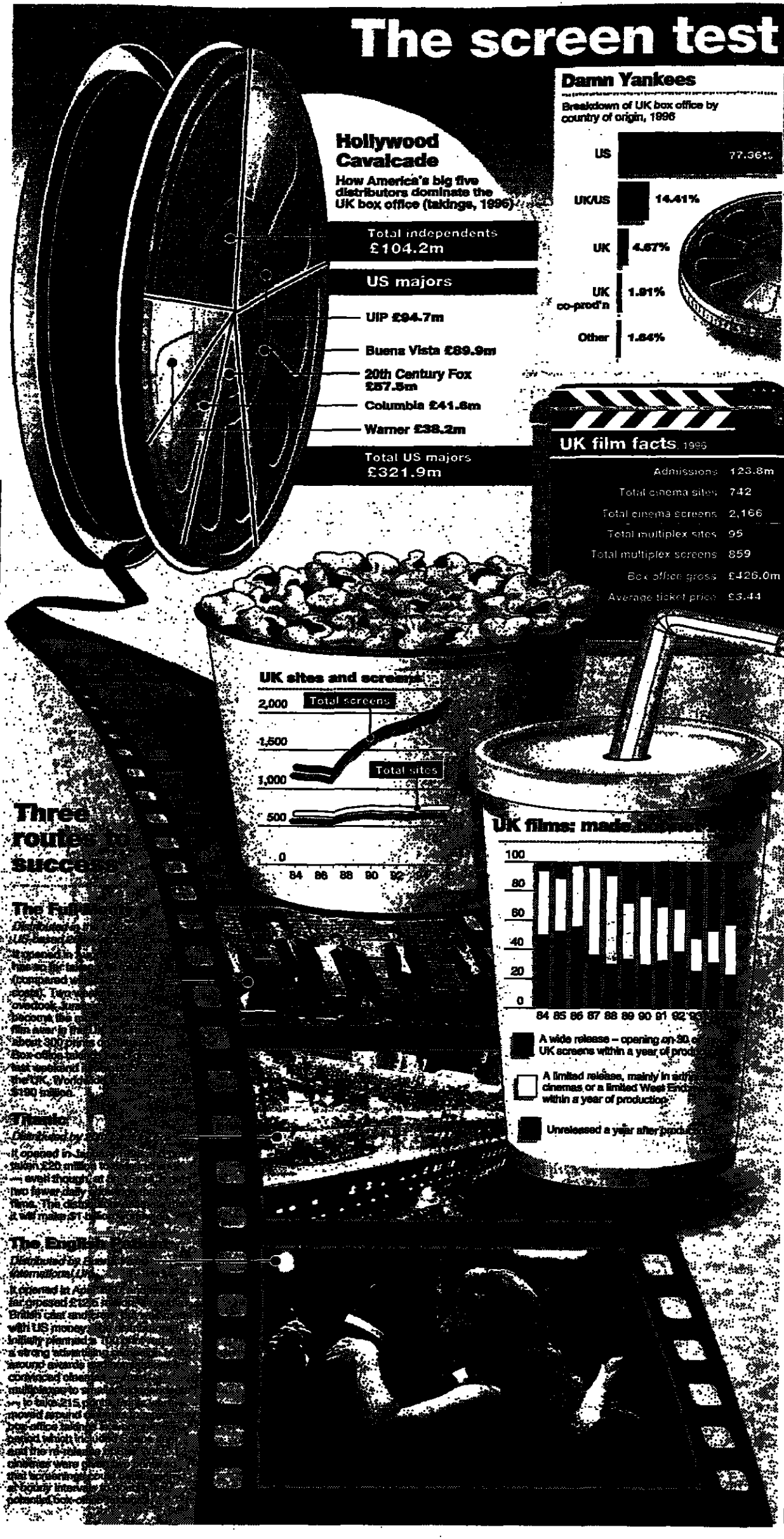
American films' dominance of the top 10 British box-office films in 1996. Seventeen British films received a theatrical release last year, while 28 are still awaiting a release. The problems are clear. Films are made but not shown; exhibition is in the hands of a small group of cinema-owners who demonstrate little interest in showing anything beyond standard Hollywood fare. As Charles Denton, head of the Arts Council's Lottery Film Panel, which set up three film franchises last year in an attempt to mirror the American studio system, observes: "The distribution business in the US is the production business, which is what we lack here. There's nothing unusual in films not being released. In the US the figure is around 50 per cent."

The Arts Council is set to tackle distribution next week, with an announcement of Lottery funding for initiatives in print and advertising, the key areas of distribution. A movie isn't a movie until it's got a poster. "Not to have public access to the films that we fund with Lottery money would be an abuse," says Denton. "They must be distributed on one level or another: exhibited for a paying audience on a cinema screen."

Ironically one of the Arts Council's Lottery franchisees, the Film Consortium, is close to reaching an agreement with UIP to distribute its films. Its original distributor, Rank, was closed down by Carlton last year.

THE ARTS Council initiative will not be of the same magnitude as its £32 million investment in film production through the franchises, but it will be a first step to a strategic intervention in a market that has been largely left to drift. The next step will be the Government's film review group, due to report at the end of March, with distribution and development at the top of its agenda.

There is some good news. British film has doubled its share of the box office in the last year, as the present Government is fond of telling us. "The Full Monty has pushed the share up to 23 per cent, which is a remarkable achievement (if *The Full Monty* is considered to be a British film). The production of British films, fuelled by the Lottery, is also set to



Learning to love the EU
9

jump this year — and the volume of production is one of the keys to a successful film industry. The accepted success rate for studios is a measly 10 per cent. One *Titanic*, or one *Full Monty*, and you can happily make nine *Keep The Aspidochelone* Flying. But distributing all of these films is not necessarily the answer. Some of them will simply not merit the honour of a cinema showing. "You can't throw money at a bad film to please a political quota," says Nick Thomas of Flicks magazine, who compiled the industry figures for the BFI's latest handbook. The other part of the problem lies with the exhibitors, the Virgin and the Warner Villages which run the multiplexes. Fed on a diet of Hollywood pulp, they have become as lazy as their audiences. Audiences are younger, predominantly under 25, and films are invariably American. Exhibitors in the UK are a little greedy giving only 30 per cent of the ticket price back to the distributor. The equivalent figure in Germany is 40 per cent. "Distributors have less say than elsewhere," says Thomas. "Foreign-language films and small British films may get distributed, but they don't always get shown."

DIRECTOR and BFI governor Terry Gilliam last week hit out at the combination of Hollywood and the multiplexes, calling them a "huge disaster". The combination, he said, "limits what we see and what we choose to see. It limits our expectations. Somehow it's all gone wrong. People have lost the ability to read subtitles."

But things could get better. Hollywood's share of the market has declined, albeit fractionally, even in the US, and the studios are having to investigate different ways of working. In production terms this has meant co-productions with small producers. In distribution terms it might mean loosening up the system and allowing the smaller players into the multiplexes.

While quotas may not be on the political agenda here, change undoubtedly is. The Government and the industry are agreed that the current distribution and exhibition set-up is crippling the industry. The intervention, when it comes, will be in the spirit of cooperation: UIP, after all, had a representative on the film review group. One suggestion as to how the future may look came from the unlikely quarter of the BFI. Something of a changed organisation, the BFI under new chairman Alan Parker has announced plans to take the hits of this year's London Film Festival on a tour of the multiplexes.

Gilliam was enthused, claiming that he had spoken to people in multiplexes who were sick of the Hollywood diet and would be an eager audience for the sort of fare offered up every year to the BFI's cosmopolitan audience. Subtitles and *Flubber*? The multiplex foyer may never be the same again.

Sources: (1) BFI Yearbook 1998. Graphics sources: BFI Yearbook 1998; Screen Finance; EDC; Buena Vista International UK; 20th Century Fox; Miramax. Graphics: Steve Villiers; Paddy Allen; Graphic News. Research: Mark Espiner. Dan Glaister is the Guardian's arts correspondent.

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FinanceGuardian

Tuesday February 10 1998

Argos chief claims big ticket

Catalogue team hires a defender

Roger Cowe

ARGOS yesterday began its fight back against the £1.6 billion takeover bid from mail order company Great Universal Stores with the appointment of a top retailer as acting chief executive. The contract could leave the new chief with £540,000 for just nine weeks' work at the cata-

logue store chain, if the GUS bid is successful. Argos has been left leaderless by the serious illness of chief executive Mike Smith. But yesterday former Marks & Spencer and Burton executive Stuart Rose, aged 48, stepped into Mr Smith's shoes.

Mr Rose left Burton with a £600,000 pay-off last summer — a victim of the group's merger into Debenhams and Arcadia.

Mr Rose said last night that his £220,000 basic salary, supplemented by a non-pensionable £40,000 a year and a signing-on fee of £180,000, was a competitive package. "I am an experienced retailer. I have negotiated a package which is commensurate with the task ahead. I have been talking to other people and I believe this is the right remuneration for the job," Mr Rose said.

He insisted that Argos had an independent future, saying that he had not taken the job purely for the money, although he had ditched "a very disappointed party" when Argos approached him when he was about to join another retailer.

He said: "I don't accept that

Argos and GUS would be better taken together. I wouldn't have taken the job if I thought otherwise."

Mr Rose said he had chosen Argos in preference to other job offers because it gave him the chance to lead the company. "I spent the last nine years at Burton as number two to a chief executive. Now I want to go and do it myself," he said. "It's a chance to steer my own ship, and I hope we can keep the ship afloat."

He did not say how he would persuade shareholders to turn down the GUS offer. The company's defence will come once the formal offer from GUS is published, probably this week.

"All I can tell you is that I will be at Milton Keynes (Ar-

gos head office) very early in the morning," Mr Rose said.

He added that his lack of mail order or catalogue store experience was irrelevant. "This company does the same thing as other retailers, which is to put the right products in front of the consumer in an effective and efficient way."

Argos chairman Sir Richard Lloyd said Mr Rose's retail skills would help to defeat GUS. "I am sure he will be an important part of the Argos team, which intends to show vigorously the inadequacy of GUS's unsolicited offer."

GUS pounced last week, aiming to capitalise on the lack of a leader at Argos, which has seen a poor trading

performance of late. GUS argues that its experience developing ordering and delivery systems can help improve the Argos business, while its mail order strengths can expand the range, while capitalising on the Argos customer base.

Argos argues that putting the two companies' systems together would be difficult, and that it is already moving into mail order on its own.

The catalogue company has been experimenting with variations on its original format of ordering in-store. But it is seen as having been too cautious in moving towards ordering from and delivery to the home, while companies including Arcadia and Marks & Spencer have begun moving into mail order.

Notebook

Is Christie's up for auction?



Alex Brummer

TWO months have passed since it was first revealed that Christie's, the auction house, was holding an emergency board meeting to discuss a £500 million offer for the group emanating from investment bankers SBC Warburg, on behalf of a mysterious band of investors.

The bid was not seen at the time as quite good enough for a board recommendation and so Christie's chairman, Lord Lindsay, began what can only be described as a quiet negotiation. Since then there has been radio silence other than the revelation early this year that Christie's was cutting some 60 employees as part of an efficiency drive.

While all this has been going on the Christie's share price has been drifting aimlessly on the London Stock Exchange. Christie's leading shareholder and Britain's richest man, Joe Lewis, who has some 28 per cent of the auction house's stock, is apparently being kept informed of events; other shareholders are blindsided.

Shareholders have seen no formal offer document and received no official approach for their shares from those represented by the perceived bidders SBC Warburg.

This information vacuum is damaging. For Christie's staff seeking to maintain a leading edge in an increasingly competitive fine art auction market, ownership is not academic. Auction houses take huge risks when they sponsor fine art auctions and security of ownership, the cash reserves in the accounts and shareholders funds have to be deployed to the best effect. Uncertainty about ownership can affect the underlying business.

But there are regulatory issues too. By now SBC Warburg has had more than enough time to frame a suitable offer. If that cannot be achieved then it ought to announce that the deal is off and remove the uncertainty and froth from the share price.

Similarly, shareholders need a clearer guide as to the position of Mr Lewis on this prospective bid, after all this is a public company and there is meant to be equality of information for all. This looks like a case in need of a bid ruling from the Takeover Panel. Otherwise there is the possibility of creating a false market.

Argos riposte

THERE will no doubt be some loud criticism of the £180,000 signing-on fee and the generous termination arrangements negotiated for the acting chief executive of Argos, Stuart Rose. This will not look helpful in the ongoing debate about

remuneration, but has to be taken in context. However, it will shrink into insignificance when compared with the fees being creamed off by City advisers.

Without a chief executive to take on the role vacated through illness by the current incumbent, Mike Smith, Argos might as well have rolled over in the face of the £1.6 billion cash bid from one of Britain's most asset-rich companies, Great Universal Stores.

The signal from Argos and its merchant bankers, Schroders, is that the company is not simply engaged in an exercise of forcing GUS to pay a bigger price, although that will be important to shareholders, but still believes — despite the current takeover fever — that it may see off the predator in the normal course of events that might be difficult for Argos after its repeated profit warnings.

But the company apparently believes that the worst of its trading difficulties is behind it and that it has tackled some of the fundamental problems in the business, including a technological deficit with another catalogue retailer (part of Littlewoods).

It also believes that the convergence between the two businesses, seen by GUS as Argos moves towards home shopping and GUS away from mail order, is less than the GUS chairman Lord Wolfson thinks. GUS's first hostile takeover in a couple of generations could face more forceful resistance than envisaged.

Base hopes

THE markets are finally starting to believe that UK interest rates may have peaked at the current base rate of 7.25 per cent. Overseas buying interest in British government bonds — gilts — remains healthy, largely because of the differential with the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, as the message that sterling rates may have peaked comes through the pound may finally start to move downwards.

The immediate trigger for the new mood on the financial markets is the latest producer prices figure showing the annual rate of output price inflation falling 1 per cent to 0.7 per cent in January — the lowest since July 1988. Low output prices largely reflect the competition which manufacturers are currently facing as a result of cheap imports which, as the CBI has noted, left little room for new year price increases.

On the input side the UK is seeing definite signs of deflation. The main factor was the falling oil price in January (that has now partly recovered) but other components are also easing. On an annual basis producer prices are falling at a 9.7 per cent rate. An offsetting factor for the markets is likely to be the British Retail Sales monitor for January published today showing consumers on a spending spree. But that is largely a case of intelligent spending in the January sales.

Body Shop loses head

Lisa Buckingham
City Editor

The tarnished image of Body Shop, the environmentally aware cosmetics group, lost more of its glitter yesterday when Steen Kanter left abruptly as head of its US operations after just 18 months with the company.

His departure means Body Shop's troublesome US operations have undergone four changes at the helm in as many years.

David Edward, chairman of the US arm and a former chief executive, will reassume control in an effort to reverse the performance of the business.

The company refused to say whether Mr Kanter, who once worked in the US for Ikea, the Swedish home furnishings group, will be given a pay off or whether he can look forward to a windfall on any share options. He is not a director so details of his package remain under wraps.

Although Body Shop sought last night to put a gloss on Mr Kanter's departure, it clearly adds to pressure on the group's reputation, which is faltering in the highly competitive American market.

Body Shop's like-for-like sales in the US have gone backwards for more than three years and Angela Bawtree, head of investor relations, admitted "it would not be acceptable in a year's time for sales to be declining on a like-for-like basis."

She added the group was re-examining its entire way of doing business in the US. Failure to do so would be "negligent," she added, although it would be "inappropriate" to talk about when Body Shop might unveil its new strategy for America.

The group's previous US president and chief executive, Terry Hartin, is now a UK director after being responsible for making the group's products more attuned to the US. He was also in charge of finding a replacement — Mr Kanter — to revitalise the company's retail offering.



Exploding myths... Aficionados like these at Boston's Cigar Masters café are likely to find notions of safe smoking debunked PHOTOGRAPH: CHARLES KAPPA

Booming cigar sales smoke out watchdog

Federal authorities signal concern at Nineties icon. Mark Tran reports

AMERICA'S infatuation with cigars, as cigar sales proliferate from New York to San Diego, has prompted federal regulators to step up its scrutiny of the industry.

Concerned by increased cigar smoking the Federal Trade Commission yesterday for the first time ordered leading makers to furnish information on their sales and advertising spending in 1996 and 1997.

After a 20-year decline, sales are soaring, popular-

ised by Wall Street investment bankers riding one of the great bull markets in history. Just as red power braces were emblematic of the 1980s, so the "stogie" has become the symbol of the late-90's market surge.

Cigar smoking received a big lift with the 1992 publication of Cigar Aficionados, a glossy magazine featuring celebrities such as super-model Linda Evangelista and actor Tom Selleck on the cover.

US sales of have jumped

53 per cent to 5.2 billion cigars since 1993. In a 1996 survey, 27 per cent of 6 million Americans aged 14 to 19 were found to have smoked at least one cigar in the previous year, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported last year.

The FTC's move comes at a time when the health risks of cigar smoking are being underscored. Next month the National Cancer Institute will publish a lengthy report on cigars.

"It will help explode some of the myths about cigars — that they are relatively safe and non-addictive," said Jack Henningfield, asso-

ciate professor of behavioural biology and Johns Hopkins University and a drug abuse researcher.

The common perception is that cigars pose less risk than cigarettes because cigar smokers do not inhale. But tar, nicotine and other chemical compounds can pass through the lining of the mouth and throat and into the bloodstream more easily with cigars because of their high alkaline content.

As a result, cigar smokers are more likely to 10 times more likely to die from cancer of the mouth, larynx and oesophagus than non-smokers, according to the

American Lung Association. They are also more at risk than non-smokers from lung cancer, although not as much as cigarette smokers.

The US cigar industry consists of about 50 manufacturers, most of which are small companies with limited advertising and promotion budgets. For that reason, the FTC would cover only the biggest manufacturers. Last year, the industry spent an estimated \$15 million (\$9.2 million) on print and radio ads, a drop in the ocean compared to what individual cigarette companies spend on marketing.

Energy Group's future lies with US regulators

Greg Polak and
Geri Weston

AN emergency meeting of US regulators will decide tomorrow whether Texas Utilities will be allowed to compete in the bidding for Energy Group, the UK coal and electricity company which owns Eastern Electricity.

If the US state's utility commission decides to approve the go-ahead it could throw wide open the battle for control of Energy Group and may force current front-runner, Oregon-based company PacifiCorp, to increase last week's offer of 765 pence a share.

Dallas-based company Texas is subject to a new law which bars Texas electricity

companies from risking more than 30 per cent of their capital outside the US without state approval. Texas sources suggest that the proposed bid for Energy Group would put the utility above that limit.

Consumer groups will be demanding that the state utility commission refuse to permit Texas to make a bid.

They object to the company spending money overseas while home customers are being forced to pay the cost of overruns in the construction of local generating projects.

The Consumers' Union of Texas and Public Citizens, a pressure group associated with Ralph Nader, are preparing to give evidence.

Tom "Smitty" Smith, Public Citizens' state director, said: "If Texas Utilities has

any extra money they should use it to pay down their debts in Texas not for shopping trips in England."

The so-called stranded plants, high-cost nuclear and coal units, could become nearly worthless once Texas deregulates its power generation market. One credit rating agency estimate has suggested that more than three-quarters of the company's equity capital was in potentially stranded assets.

Jane Brissemaister, senior policy analyst for the Consumers' Union, said the group was questioning whether the 30 per cent rule should be waived. "The company is claiming it does not have the cash to cover its stranded plant," she said.

The company's equity has suffered since an agreement last year under which it accepted a \$1.381 billion write-down of its investment in the Comanche Peak nuclear station, following the state regulators' finding that the company had mismanaged the plant's construction.

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

RAILTRACK yesterday offered the Government a cheap and unattractive alternative to complete the Channel tunnel rail link with a £1.3 billion plan which would take the link half-way to London.

The plan by Railtrack's chief executive, Gerald Corbett, would cost the Government nothing, but would leave completion of the 68-mile line between St Pancras and Folkestone to be probably well beyond 2003, the official completion target date.

Mr Corbett's statement is the first indication that it may not be able to reach agreement with the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, on a deal for the immediate completion of the project following the collapse of the doomed consortium, London & Continental Railways.

Mr Corbett made it clear that Railtrack is interested in taking over both the infra-

structure of the London Underground and the Channel rail link, and has the financial capacity to achieve both. "But we don't want to do something which would preclude us from bidding for London Underground," he said.

Mr Corbett stressed that 10 days of hard bargaining still lay ahead and that an agreement could be reached, but that London Underground was Railtrack's priority.

The company's cheap compromise would allow it to build a fast, dedicated track through the Kent countryside from Folkestone to a point four miles short of the M25, at Southfleet, and then on to Waterloo on old track. It would reduce journey times from London to Paris by about 15 minutes, instead of half an hour if the route continued on to St Pancras.

Mr Prescott will have to decide whether this is politically acceptable, since he is keen not to abandon the project. With the exception of EuroRail, the unsuccessful

bidding when LCR was awarded the contract two years ago by the outgoing Conservative government, there are no other likely candidates interested in the project.

Mr Corbett said he understood that the capital cost of the project now stood at £4 billion. But nobody had envisaged that Eurostar, whose profits were supposed to underpin the project, could have made such massive losses. By 2001 it will have lost £900 million.

On the London Underground he said that Railtrack would be making a bid as soon as the Government made its announcement.

Ministers wanted to keep LU in the public sector and prefer a bid from an organisation such as Railtrack to a consortium with interests outside the UK.

Factory gate price rises at 12-year low

Charlotte Denny

PRIOR increases at the factory gate sank to their lowest level for 12 years last month, according to new figures, boosting hopes that inflation rates are set to drop.

Manufacturers' output prices rose by 0.7 per cent over the year to January, according to figures released yesterday by the Office for National Statistics, the lowest annual increase since July 1986.

Firms are able to keep factory gate prices low because they are benefiting from reductions in the cost of raw materials and fuels, due to the strong pound. A sharp decline in crude oil prices last month contributed to the 9.7 per cent fall in input prices to January, the lowest rate since April last year.

Falling fuel and material costs are enabling firms to offset rising wage costs, according to Simon Briscoe, of Niko Europe. "This should temper some of the Bank of England monetary policy

committee's fears about the strength of average earnings growth."

Meanwhile, the latest snapshot of the retail sector showed that bargain-conscious consumers went on a new year sales shopping spree last month. The British Retail Consortium's sales monitor 1998 by 6.1 per cent over the year to January, the highest growth rate for over a year.

But the BRC said underlying growth was weaker than last year, and the sales figures supported last week's decision by the Bank of England not to raise interest rates.

Big discounts prolonged customer enthusiasm beyond the first two weeks of the sale. The overhanging of winter stock, due to weaker than expected sales before Christmas, meant that there were some extremely good sale offers on the high street, said Andrew Higginson, chairman of the BRC economic affairs committee. "Undoubtedly customers are more bargain conscious and are waiting for the sales before buying."

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.38	France 6.86	Italy 2.875	Switzerland 2.87
Austria 20.31	Germany 2.8843	Japan 12.4	Spain 24.15
Belgium 38.46	Greece 489.32	Netherlands 3.2429	Sweden 13.00
Canada 2.29	Hong Kong 12.34	New Zealand 2.74	Switzerland 2.87
Cyprus 0.85	India 93.79	Norway 12.05	Turkey 350.410
Denmark 11.06	Ireland 1.1514	Portugal 204.69	USA 1.9350
Finland 5.85	Israel 5.90	Saudi Arabia 8.05	

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli shekel).

EXPIRES 1:50

Football

Owen and Dublin on full alert

David Lacey

ENGLAND's friendly against Chile at Wembley tomorrow night will begin a six-match countdown to the World Cup but is unlikely to offer an abundance of clues to the team Glenn Hoddle is likely to field in their opening game against Tunisia in Marseille on June 15.

It could hardly be otherwise with David Seaman recovering from a chipped finger. David Beckham pulling out with a strained hamstring and Alan Shearer expected to appear only as a substitute, if indeed he comes on at all.

Beckham's absence may mean Gary Neville or Robert Lee playing on the right. In any event Hoddle had always intended using the early warm-up games to check the spare parts he may have to call on as the tournament evolves.

Easily the most intriguing of these is Michael Owen, who at 18 years and two months is about to become the youngest player this century to win an England cap.

Hoddle has indicated that the Liverpool striker will appear at some stage tomorrow. Then there is Dion Dublin, who is 10 years older than Owen but could still create a startling precedent by being the first player from Coventry to be picked by England while taking suspension lessons.

If few had seriously considered Dublin as a World Cup striker then even fewer had envisaged him as an international centre-back, but during the phoney war all things are possible.

When Hoddle announced his squad he said the Coventry man had first impressed him as an emergency centre-half. And Dublin did play both for and against yesterday's training.

Then again, since Dublin has also caught the England coach's eye while scoring eight goals in seven games for Coventry, this may be just another case of Hodwinking. "None of you knows what is

going through my mind," he told reporters when the squad was announced. Quite so. Nevertheless Hoddle has made it plain that he needs to check alternatives to members of the established England squad, which in effect means finding understudies to Seaman, Tony Adams, Paul Ince, Paul Gascoigne, Teddy Sheringham and Shearer. Nicky Butt, Paul Scholes and Andy Cole are not merely covering several of these positions but making strong cases to be considered in their own right.

Yet with Tim Flowers suffering damaged ribs and Nigel Martyn the only real choice in goal against Chile, even though Newcastle's Shaka Hislop has been called up to cover, Hoddle will not learn much about his goalkeeping options this time. The reality is that, to succeed in France, England need a fit Seaman even more than a fit Shearer.

Still it was comforting to find Shearer back on the scene yesterday, still picking his words with the care of a mine-detecter but prepared to admit he was not 100 per cent match fit and needed more games. On Chris Sutton's Liverpool striker will appear at some stage tomorrow.

For Sutton there will surely not be a next time. "I tried to change his mind," said Hoddle. "He didn't want it changed. End of story."

For England the real story begins in Marseille. Tomorrow's is the start of a prologue due to end on June 2, when Hoddle will announce his final World Cup squad of 22.

● The FA said last night that no Wembley tickets will be available tomorrow and that sales will close at 9pm tonight. More than 60,000 seats have already gone.



Leading from the front... Hoddle sets the pace for Dublin and Sheringham at Bisham yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

Northern Ireland gamble on McMenemy for Euro 2000

Michael Walker

IN A move sure to surprise and perplex many people in Northern Ireland, the Irish Football Association yesterday appointed Lawrie McMenemy as manager of the national side. McMenemy, 61, succeeds Bryan Hamilton, sacked in October, and becomes the first non-Ulsterman to manage Northern Ireland.

Joe Jordan, a Scot, will be McMenemy's assistant and Fat Jennings the goalkeeping coach. All three are on two-year contracts and their immediate task is to qualify for the finals of the European Championship of 2000.

"Some people will no doubt be critical and I accept that, but I have never been bothered by it," said McMenemy. "But I would say to the Northern Ireland supporters that we want the same as them and I would appeal for them to come along and fill the ground. It's my ambition to see Northern Ireland qualify for the European Championship."

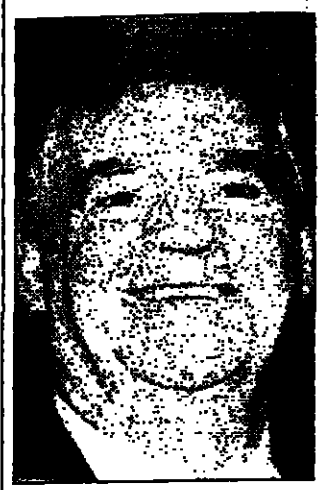
In a group that includes Germany, the current holders, Turkey, Finland and Moldova and where only the winners qualify automatically, Northern Ireland's chances are slim. But in gambling on McMenemy, whose last full-time coaching role ended in Sunderland's relegation to the old Third Division 11 years ago, the IFA clearly hopes he can do for the North what Jack Charlton did for the Republic of Ireland when he became their manager.

McMenemy first learnt of

the IFA's interest a month ago when he read a teletext story linking him with the job. He hailed the Northern Ireland job as "the pinnacle of my career".

The IFA president, Jim Boyce, was admiring in return yesterday, talking of McMenemy's "charisma" and "high profile", although that view tends to ignore the fact that being manager of Northern Ireland requires one quality above all else: enthusiasm. Hamilton had that in abundance but was dismissed the day Northern Ireland announced the formation of an Under-21 team — a development Hamilton had pushed for.

McMenemy's first game in charge will be against Switzerland at Windsor Park on April 22.



McMenemy... appointment is the 'pinnacle' of his career

Referee 'did not take bribe'

THE referee Paul Robinson and the non-league club Solihull Borough are considering taking legal action after being cleared of bribery allegations yesterday by the Football Association.

Darlington had accused Robinson of accepting money from Solihull, after a 1-1 draw in their FA Cup first-round tie at the Third Division club's ground on November 15 last year.

Representatives of Darlington claimed they saw the 38-year-old referee take a payment from Borough officials in the bar after the game.

But the president of the Referees' Association, Peter Willis, said: "The only mistake Paul Robinson made was to buy the drinks for his colleagues and accept the change. As a true Yorkshireman he should have allowed the colleagues to buy him his drink."

Solihull is believed to be seeking legal advice with regards to suing Darlington. Solihull, of the Dr Martens League, said: "It is something we are looking into."

Further afield, the president of the world governing body, FIFA, Joao Havelange, has attacked the European body Uefa and its president

Lennart Johansson, who is hoping to succeed him.

Havelange, who instead wants the FIFA secretary general Sepp Blatter to take over as head of FIFA, said that Germany was trying to dominate world football by supporting Johansson's bid.

"The Latin countries should start taking on Germany's power game. Germany are seeking to dominate world football through the bias of Uefa and by getting their man elected to the presidency of Fifa, and that should not happen," Havelange said.

Leeds United yesterday apologised to Leicester City for racist chants made during the Yorkshire side's defeat at Filbert Street on Saturday.

The Professional Footballers' Association has defended players' salaries after it was revealed that the average wage in the Premiership is between £150,000 and £200,000 a year. "Nobody seems to bat an eyelid when you look at what people are earning in other sports," it said.

Gary Mabbutt has been offered what Tottenham Hotspur described as a job for life. Bolton Wanderers have decided not to buy the West Bromwich striker Bob Taylor.

Premiership: Crystal Palace 0, Wimbledon 3

Leaburn leaves Palace with that sinking feeling

Trevor Haylett

THE roof fell in on Crystal Palace last night as Wimbledon, the ungrateful tenants who have consistently made better use of their Selhurst Park surroundings than the landlords, scored three times in 12 minutes to record their first Premiership win since early December.

With two impressive headers Carl Leaburn, the lanky striker who at Charlton gained notoriety for an inability to score, condemned Palace to a 12th home game without victory in the League. It adds weight to the belief that

"home" for Palace next season will be in the First Division.

Of course Palace had won on this ground in September but as Wimbledon occupied the home dressing-room on that occasion, it went down as one of the five wins they had impressively compiled as a visiting side. Significantly the match winner on that less-than-memorable afternoon was Attilio Lombardo as he had been at other times in the early part of the season.

How Palace have missed the Italian's creative ways, winning only once during his prolonged absence with a high strain. To make matters worse Lombardo has been

joined on the sick-list not only by his compatriot Michele Padovano but also by Paul Warhurst and Neil Shipperley. It left Steve Coppell's team reliant last night for goals on the inconsistent Bruce Dyer and the inexperienced Marcus Bent and anything that Thomas Broolin could conjure up from his position just behind.

Initially, as Palace's wide men showed that they had the beating of their opponents, the night augured well for the bulk of the Selhurst Park crowd and Neil Sullivan had to deal with two curling balls from the right after first Jamie Smith and then Bent took the opportunity to take on Ben Thatcher who was

struggling to come to grips with the pace of the game after a lay-off.

Wimbledon retained three players in attack which allowed room for the game to flow had there been players with the nous to make use of it. Sadly none appeared willing to seize the opportunity and we waited a long time for a chance worthy of the name.

One came when Andy Linington nodded on an Andy Roberts corner but Dyer was unable to keep his shot down. It was an improved spell from Palace while a long-range attempt from Neil Ardley was a reminder that nothing had happened to change Wimbledon's belief that this was a

game they could win. In a dazzling 12-minute spell after the interval they did just that, punishing Palace's failure to deal with a series of high balls.

It was a sad indictment on a team who include a corollary of six-footers in their three-man central defence. Leaburn's first in the 47th minute was set up by Kenny Cunningham, the recent recruit producing a firm header that beat Kevin Miller on his near post.

Leaburn's second four minutes later should have been stopped by the Palace goalkeeper while the third convinced Palace that the fates were also against them.

Miller did better this time to repel Peter Fears far-post effort but, having kept the ball out he then saw Leaburn strike a post, the rebound falling kindly for Jason Euell.

● Uefa last night promised it would try to prevent Wimbledon moving to Dublin. A statement from European football's governing body said: "We do not support such a move because of the damaging effect it would have on domestic football."

Crystal Palace (5-3-2): Miller, Smith, Iremal (Rodger, 62min), Linington, M. Hughes (Dyer, 62min), Roberts, Dyer, Bent (Gimby, 68), Cunningham, Perry, Blackwell, Thatcher, Jones, Forster, Arday (Gascoigne, 88), M. Hughes, Leaburn, Euell. Referee: K. Purvis (Torpapandy).

Liverpool reject Souness's £4 million offer for Berger

LIVERPOOL yesterday rejected a £4 million offer for Patrick Berger from the Portuguese club Benfica, writes Ian Ross.

The Benfica coach Graeme Souness, a former manager of the Merseyside club, has been trying for several weeks to persuade them to sell the versatile Czech Republic international who joined them from Borussia Mönchengladbach in a £2.5 million deal 20 months ago.

Having led Benfica to second place in the Portuguese First Division, Souness is keen to recruit the 24-year-old Berger as a partner for his international team-mate Karel Poborsky, who recently

joined the Lisbon club from Manchester United.

Although Berger is currently unable to command a regular first-team place at Anfield, he is believed to be happy to remain with Liverpool until the end of the current season when he will review the situation.

The Bolivian striker Jaime Moreno will rejoin Washington D.C. after failing to secure a permanent contract during a three-month loan spell at Middlesbrough.

Jocky Scott is moving from his coaching role at Dundee United to become manager of their neighbours Dundee, where he takes over from the sacked John McCormack.

Hall's double strike sets up Jamaica win

TWO goals from Portsmouth's Paul Hall helped Jamaica to a 3-2 victory over Guatemala in their first-round match of the Concacaf Gold Cup at the Los Angeles Coliseum.

Hall scored the game's first goal in the 14th minute as a rebound from five yards. Juan Carlos Plata equalised two minutes later from the penalty spot, but Andrew Williams gave Jamaica a 2-1 lead in the 55th minute with a shot from 19 yards.

The winner came in the 67th minute after a corner from Hall's Pompey team-mate Fitzroy Simpson. The ball was headed on by Wimbledon's Marcus Gayle and Hall headed into the net from six yards. Guatemala's Guillermo Ramirez narrowed the deficit in the 94th minute with a 12-yard shot.

Brazil gained their first win of the tournament when they beat El Salvador 4-0 to gain a place in the semi-finals, having drawn their first two games against the equally modest teams of Jamaica and Guatemala.

Angel Jordanescu, who is currently the Romania coach, has been appointed to lead the Greek national team. He will take over the Greece squad after the World Cup in France this summer.

Democratic Congo, playing their first major finals as the Simbas, scored two penalties to beat Togo 2-1 in Ouagadougou in their African Nations Cup group B match.

Results

Football

FA CUP

Crystal Palace (0) 0, Wimbledon (3) 3. (1-0).

Leeds (1) 1, Everton (0) 0.

Sheff Wed (0) 0, Sheff Utd (1) 1.

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Cricket

SUNDERLAND COUNTY

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Ice Hockey

NHL

St Louis (1) 1, New York (0) 0.

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Cricket

Victory for West Indies United Carl Hooper has achieved much more than win a Test, BC Pires reports from Port of Spain

Man of the Century in Trinidad

RUMOUR has it that Carl Hooper, the Guyanese vice-captain of the West Indies team, has applied for citizenship of Trinidad and Tobago, where he recently bought a house. If his application were to be decided by the crowd watching the second Test at the Queen's Park Oval, Hooper would be granted both immediate full citizenship and a refund of

the purchase price of his property. A leading contender for the 1998 Road March — the song to be given pride of place in Trinidad's two-day street carnival, which will be held in a fortnight's time — is a calypso called Who Let the Dogs Out? It features a chorus of barking sounds: "Woof! Woof! Woof-woof-woof." All morning long, the crowd batted, the crowd howled the melody and chorus to sing the Oval Road March: "Who let the dogs out? Hoops! Hoops! Hoops! Hoops!"

Hooper was named Man of the Match but the Trinidad crowd would happily have named him Man of the Century for saving the face of the new captain, Trinidad and Tobago's own Brian Lara. Hooper may well have saved West Indies cricket itself. It would have been very difficult to weather a defeat at home in the captain's maiden Test.

Hooper had help on Sunday from the solid 62 by the opener Stuart Williams but yesterday's most important contribution came from a local hero far more unlikely than the victory itself ever looked. The tiny Trinidadian wicketkeeper David Williams made 65, his highest ever Test score, but what he did for the team spirit will prove to be much more important than any runs he scored.

Curtly Ambrose, going in to bat when Williams was out, stopped and hugged him when they met at the pavilion entrance. Later, when the West Indies team came out of their dressing room for the presentation ceremonies, Courtney Walsh, who has recently been depicted as the Jamaican deposed by the Trinidadian wicketkeeper, proudly on his hip.

That casual display of closeness does not augur well for England for the rest of the series. The great white hope so far has been whatever disharmony existed between the home team's members. Even during this match, observers pointed out that Lara and Walsh were conferring together regularly on the field but that Ambrose appeared to be keeping a distance from the captain.

In the 129-run partnership between Hooper and David Williams, the near future will probably show that the emphasis was on partnership. West Indies may well now start to play as the West Indies again, instead of two Trinidadians, two Guyanese, two Jamaicans, a Bajan or two, and the rest in small islands.

A devastated Mike Atherton led England out for the post-match Hooper-La with



Stumped and not out... Adam Hobbie racks his brains in a vain attempt to shift David Williams

LAURENCE GRIFFITHS

his chin held high but it must have been difficult to take such a hard-fought reverse. The agony of defeat must have had something to do with his criticism of the wicket as "poor". I obviously do not know as much about cricket as Atherton but I do know that I've just watched a brilliant Test match.

On Sunday afternoon I resigned myself to a West

Indies defeat; yesterday morning it seemed back and forth in what looked to me to be classic Test-match style. Up to the very end there was a chance that England would do it. If Angus Fraser had not hit the helmet behind Jack Russell to incur a five-run penalty, or if he had not on to the catch that he dropped off his own first ball of the morning, when Wil-

liams was on 36, the result might have been different. When Ambrose was out, there were three balls left in the over and the remaining three batsmen were Kenny Benjamin, Nixon McLean and Walsh. Given Headley's penchant for hat-tricks and that trio's batting ability, the game could have been decided in that over.

So it is difficult to see what "poor" pitch Atherton was talking about. Oscar Wilde said that he could stand brute force but could not abide brute reason. Atherton could be forgiven for thinking that he can stand brute West Indian force but cannot abide brute talent.

England are now 9-1 to win the series with William Hill, with West Indies 1-6 odds-on favourites.

Scoreboard

ENGLAND
First innings
M A Atherton c Lara b Ambrose 11
J P Crawley c C Williams b Ambrose 50
N Hussain not out 17
G P Thorpe c D Williams b Hooper 61
A J Hobbie c Russell b Fraser 8
R C Russell c S C Williams b McLean 2
D W Headley c D Williams b Ambrose 11
A R C Fraser c D Williams b Benjamin 17
P R Turner c Lara b Benjamin 17
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 20
Total (108 overs) 274
Fall of wickets: 26, 67, 106, 114, 124, 126, 148, 172, 214.
Bowling: Walsh 27-7-56-1, Ambrose 16-5-24-2, McLean 19-7-28-1, Benjamin 24-6-25-2, Hooper 8-3-14-1, Adams 3-0-0-0, Chandrasekhar 1-0-0-0.

WEST INDIES
First innings
S L Campbell c Russell b Headley 1
C Williams c Atherton b Fraser 19
J C Lara c Atherton b Fraser 22
C Hooper b Fraser 34
C Chandrasekhar c Fraser 34
J C Adams lbw b Fraser 34
D Williams lbw b Turner 16
R C Russell c A R C Fraser 2
C G Benjamin c Fraser 31
C M McLean c Caddick b Fraser 2
C A Walsh not out 6
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 21
Total (73.1 overs) 191
Fall of wickets: 16, 42, 46, 128, 134, 135, 167, 170.
Bowling: Headley 22-6-47-1, Caddick 14-5-27-3, Fraser 16-1-2-53-9, Turner 21-8-33-0.

ENGLAND
Second innings
M A Atherton c Walsh 21
J P Crawley c Hooper b McLean 22
N Hussain c b Walsh 20
G P Thorpe c Lara b Ambrose 12
A J Hobbie c D Williams b Hooper 12
R C Russell c D Williams b Ambrose 1
D W Headley not out 6
A R C Fraser c Hooper b Ambrose 6
P R Turner c D Williams b Ambrose 6
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 21
Total (64.5 overs) 228
Fall of wickets: 21, 143, 148, 222, 223, 229, 238, 248.
Bowling: Benjamin 15-3-40-3, McLean 15-5-22-2, Ambrose 15-5-22-2, Walsh 21-8-33-0, Hooper 19-8-33-0.

WEST INDIES
Second innings
S L Campbell c Stewart b Headley 10
C Williams c Crawley b Fraser 17
J C Lara c Russell b Fraser 17
C Hooper not out 62
C Chandrasekhar c Russell b Turner 1
J C Adams c Stewart b Headley 6
D Williams c Thorpe b Fraser 2
R C Russell c Russell b Headley 2
C G Benjamin not out 2
K G Benjamin not out 2
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 20
Total (for 9, 98.2 overs) 282
Fall of wickets: 10, 58, 120, 121, 124, 223, 229.
Did not bat: N M McLean, C A Walsh.
Bowling: Headley 15-3-40-3, Caddick 15-5-22-2, Turner 34-5-21-2, Fraser 27-8-33-0, Hobbie 16-1-2-53-9, Ambrose 15-5-22-2, Walsh 21-8-33-0, Hooper 19-8-33-0.
West Indies won by three wickets.

Snooker

Hendry admits to losing his grip

THE tie-break black which gave Mark Williams the Benson & Hedges Masters title and condemned Stephen Hendry to his fifth consecutive defeat in a major final climaxed a compelling weekend at Wembley. Hendry admitted after losing with an eighth Masters title within touching distance. "I've not been the same player this season. A couple of years ago, there's no danger I would have lost from 9-6 up."

The final four-hour session of Williams's 10-9 triumph — which gave him the fourth title of his career and a £145,000 cheque which multiplied his season's earnings sevenfold — drew a peak audience of 8.5 million on BBC 2. "I was shaking from head to toe," said the delighted 22-year-old Welshman. The last frame was indeed desperately close as his second attempt to pot the tie-break black left it six inches from a middle pocket.

If the cue ball had bounced even a couple of inches from the opposite side-cushion, or if the potting angle had not been dead straight, Hendry would surely have potted it. But on an ultra-fast cloth there was no avoiding the defender's in-off — running both balls into the pocket — except by rolling the cue ball six feet across the nap of the cloth at dead weight.

It deviated just before contacting the black, which finished, via the far jaw, in a winning pot for Williams which would have been simple had not £145,000 hung on it. There were three 147 breaks in a day at a Pro-Am Challenge event at Terry Griffiths's Matchroom Club in Llanelli, one of them by the 17-year-old Bridgend amateur Ryan Day. After the Welsh professionals Matthew Stevens and Tony Chappell had also scored maximums, Griffiths — who has never managed a 147 — said: "It's a remarkable standard and something I never imagined I'd see."

"I remember back in 1974 I had a standing ovation for making a couple of 70-odd breaks against Doug Mountjoy when we were both still amateurs. It just shows how much the game has changed."

Rugby Union

No disguising Irish woes

AT THE start of the international at Lansdowne Road I was sure Scotland had added a secret weapon to their game plan. As both teams were introduced to the new Irish president Mary McAleese, she realised the Scots had slipped one of their own, Robbie Coltrane, into the Irish front row.

Coltrane must have shed five stone to move into the Ireland line-up. Closer inspection revealed that the slimmed-down actor was in reality the Greystones loosehead prop Reggie Corrigan. The new kid on the block actually had a fantastic game both in the scrum and around the park, showing no nerves as he drove at the opposition with ball in hand.

But this was one of those games where the final whistle blows and you are left sitting there wondering how the hell did Ireland contrive to lose. In the pre-match on the BBC (thank you again for covering Irish games, you have saved me a fortune) Gavin Hastings said that the losers would find themselves staring into the abyss. Ireland now find themselves free-falling to the bottom of the ocean floor as did Harrison did in the movie — also The Abyss.

Compared with the standard of rugby played in Paris, Saturday's Dublin encounter looked like the amateurs' run-out. For the most part the game was played at great pace with lashings of ferocious passion, a typical Celtic encounter.

Tennis

Rusedski closes on Chang

RICHARD JAGO IN DUBLIN
GREG RUSEDSKI has built a platform for recovering a place in the world's top five, despite losing to Goran Ivanisevic in the final of the Croatian indoor tournament for the second successive year. "I believe I can get back into the top five, and even though I lost [on Sunday] it was a good week for me in Croatia because I beat never Rosset, whom I had never beaten before, and the ranking points were useful," the British No. 1 said. He remained at No. 8 in yesterday's new ATP world rankings but the 29 points he earned in Split have carried him to within 113 of Michael Chang at No. 7, and fewer than 200 points now cover the four positions occupied by Rusedski, Chang, Yevgeny Kafelnikov and Marcelo Rios. A meet run in his next tournament, the European Community Championships in Antwerp next week, where there are more points on offer

than in Split, could therefore propel him back close to his career-high No. 4. Rusedski has decided not to play here on the outdoor hard courts before another week indoors on carpet in Belgium, but Tim Henman has — though the British No. 2's first-round meeting in the Dubai Open with Boris Becker today could hardly come at a worse time. On last week's evidence, when Becker was closer than anyone to beating Ivanisevic in his own backyard, the former Wimbledon champion was hitting the ball well and looked in good physical shape, lacking only match practice. The pressure on Becker to consider returning to Grand Slam competition has increased. The thing too, because man is mounting first-round defeat would seriously dent his world No. 18's confidence. If he does win he is then likely to meet Felix Mantilla, the winner of Bournemouth's clay in September. Another not making the

trip here is Petr Korda who, though within 300 points of ending Pete Sampras's 96-week reign as world No. 1, is resting after his Australian Open triumph. This week's favourite is Jonas Bjorkman. Sweden's Davis Cup hero is seeded for a quarter-final with Ivanisevic but the tired Croatian may find it hard to stir himself so soon after his hometown heroics and in any case has a tough first round with Carlos Moya, last year's Australian Open finalist. A fresh injury setback has caused Steffi Graf to pull out of her latest scheduled return to action at the Paris Open this week. The 28-year-old German, who has not played a tournament since surgery on her left knee last June, strained a calf muscle in practice on Sunday. "It's a great disappointment to me since everything was going so well," said Graf, who hopes to play in Hanover next week. "The doctor says the calf will be better in about a week. I am really eager to play."

Sport in brief

Rugby Union
John Bentley has rejected the chance to play in the Rugby League Challenge Cup this weekend in favour of joining promotion-chasing Rotherham. The Lions wing had the option of rejoining Halifax Blue Sox early, after losing his place in Newcastle's team, but Rotherham offered the chance of union action to the 31-year-old, who has also spoken to Leicester and Sale recently. Bentley is set to make his debut against Blackheath on Saturday. Rotherham's manager Steve Cousins hopes to sign him permanently when he completes Super League commitments this summer.

Rugby League
St Helens have revealed a club record profit of £293,000 last season, when they retained the Challenge Cup against Bradford Bulls at Wembley. Saints' turnover of £3.5 million in the year ended October 31 was also the highest in their history. The profit follows three years of losses.

Sailing
Paul Cayard's EF Language, the most southerly yacht, led by five miles from Gumar

Krantz's Swedish Match with Lawrie Smith's Silk Cut fourth, a further 22 miles behind, as the pace-setters averaged more than 15 knots going east across the Southern Ocean in the Whitbread Round the World Race, writes Bob Fisher. Another low-pressure cell is forecast which will mean increased wind and increased speeds.

Athletics
The world 800 metres record-holder Wilson Kipketer has recovered from malaria and expects to be back training soon. Kipketer, the Kenyan-born Dane who left hospital last week after spending a fortnight recovering in a Portuguese clinic, said that he was feeling fine, although he did not know when he would return to competition.

Boxing
The Leeds light-heavyweight Crawford Ashley will make his comeback with a British title defence at Bethnal Green's York Hall on March 14. Ashley, suspended by the Boxing Board of Control after losing his European title to Norway's Ole Klemetsen on a second-round knockout in October, will meet Monty Wright of Stevenage in the first defence of the domestic title he has held for more than three years.

Sri Lanka v England A

Second Test, final day

Hutchison and England sweep to victory

David Hopps in Matara

ENGLAND's last man, Paul Hutchison, claimed he had never attempted a sweep shot in a competitive match in his life, but there is a first time for everything. He took a deep breath, made an awkward connection and scraped the single that pulled off a thrilling victory in the second Test yesterday by one wicket with two balls to spare.

Hutchison's stunned expression as he left the field to the delighted hoots of his teammates was the final image of an enthralling day which by the skin of their teeth rewarded an England display of laudable perseverance. The sweep shot had figured prominently in England's chase of 192 in 48 overs, as was essential against a quartet of Sri Lankan spinners on a slow, turning surface. Ben Hobbie and David Sales, in particular, had used it to good effect, launching two sixes apiece in a fifth-wicket stand of 56 in 17 overs which dragged England back from the depths of 61 for four.

But it was Hutchison's curlicue clincher against Sri Lanka's college-boy off-spinner Arshad Juntad which remained the most memorable. Three times Juntad had approached the crease and three times his misgivings had stopped him in his delivery stride. The tiny 17-year-old had taken Sri Lanka to the verge of victory by dismissing Sales, David Nash and Dougie Brown in his first four overs and he deserved his consoling pat in defeat from England's team manager Mike Gatting.

Hutchison's tour selection after half a season in county cricket had brought growth from his Yorkshire captain David Byas that it was "a bit too soon". He has known success and failure in the past few weeks and has now won a Test overseas for England. Byas was wrong: it was not too soon at all.

Thirty short of victory with two wickets left, England could have been forgiven for trying to block the last seven overs. The captain Nick Knight suggested it never crossed their minds, and his Warwickshire team-mate Ashley Giles, who conjured up a similar victory against New South Wales on last year's A tour, rewarded their enterprise. On the back of 71 overs, and seven wickets, in the match, his unbeaten 20, England's top order failed

to deliver: Steve James pulled his first ball for four and edged the next to slip, driving Knight drove the last ball before tea back to the bowler; Darren Maddy, who had promised much in making 33, did the same; and Mark Ealham was bowled, sweeping. When Sales clubbed his first six, the sky was a deep blue and the air heavy with silence. When Hobbie followed suit minutes later, flocks of birds wheeled noisily overhead at the passing threat of a storm and rock music vibrated from a ghetto-blasters outside the ground.

Sales was bowled in Juntad's first over and Hobbie was outwitted by the left-arm spinner Miroshan Bandula, who had him stumped, trying to sweep.

After a trying third day, coloured by dubious umpiring decisions and inordinate Sri Lankan play, some England sides would have offered a deficit of 107, with seven wickets still to take, and mentally accepted a draw. Yesterday this team proved their resilience and the umpiring spoke of fair-mindedness. England ground through the order — Pubudu Dassanayake's tortuous five hours for 56 was mercifully ended by Hobbie — before Sri Lanka surprisingly declared with nine wickets down. Their manager Ranjit Fernando offered a perspective. "You can declare in A-team cricket; no one gets hanged for it."

SRI LANKA A First innings 171 (M C Mendis 58, A Gunawardena 51; Giles 6-20).
ENGLAND A First innings 280 (B C Hobbie 102, Bandula 4-67).

SRI LANKA A Second innings (overnight: 186-3).
P B Dassanayake lbw b Hobbie 56
N M Murali c b Juntad 24
M C Mendis b Brown 11
D B Jayawardena c b Giles 9
H M Bandara c Knight b Giles 9
N Bandara c b Hobbie 12
R Fernando not out 2
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 20
Total (for 9, 128.4 overs) 250
Fall of wickets: 206, 217, 242, 260, 261, 262.

ENGLAND A Second innings
P B Dassanayake lbw b Hobbie 56
N M Murali c b Juntad 24
M C Mendis b Brown 11
D B Jayawardena c b Giles 9
H M Bandara c Knight b Giles 9
N Bandara c b Hobbie 12
R Fernando not out 2
Extras (lb, lb, lb, lb) 20
Total (for 9, 128.4 overs) 250
Fall of wickets: 4, 36, 43, 51, 137, 146, 152, 163.
Bowling: Piers 3-0-16-1, Boleji 15-5-22-2, Giles 44-18-51-3, Brown 10-4-19-1, Cooper 32-7-25-2, Ealham 3-0-0-0, Headley 5-1-2-53-9.

England A won by one wicket.
England's top order failed

Ice Hockey

Storm cloud over Eagles

THE tie-break black which gave Mark Williams the Benson & Hedges Masters title and condemned Stephen Hendry to his fifth consecutive defeat in a major final climaxed a compelling weekend at Wembley. Hendry admitted after losing with an eighth Masters title within touching distance. "I've not been the same player this season. A couple of years ago, there's no danger I would have lost from 9-6 up."

than in Split, could therefore propel him back close to his career-high No. 4. Rusedski has decided not to play here on the outdoor hard courts before another week indoors on carpet in Belgium, but Tim Henman has — though the British No. 2's first-round meeting in the Dubai Open with Boris Becker today could hardly come at a worse time. On last week's evidence, when Becker was closer than anyone to beating Ivanisevic in his own backyard, the former Wimbledon champion was hitting the ball well and looked in good physical shape, lacking only match practice. The pressure on Becker to consider returning to Grand Slam competition has increased. The thing too, because man is mounting first-round defeat would seriously dent his world No. 18's confidence. If he does win he is then likely to meet Felix Mantilla, the winner of Bournemouth's clay in September. Another not making the

Britain's curlers sizzle on the ice, page 13
Liverpool reject bid for Berger, page 14

McMenemy gets the Irish call, page 14
Last-over victory for England A, page 15

SportsGuardian

Hooper completes the innings of his life as Atherton's men falter



Dark reflections... Mike Atherton, with his vice-captain Nasser Hussain behind, ponders a match that was there for the taking and 'thrown away'

West Indies v England: second Test, final day

England left to rue their luck

Mike Selvey in Port of Spain sees chances and decisions go the way of West Indies

THE curse of Trinidad struck England again yesterday when West Indies, against all the odds and with a depth of character which many thought might be beyond this side, won the second Test by three wickets. Asked to make 282 to win, the highest score of the match, they dragged themselves from the depths of 124 for five on Sunday afternoon — and 181 for five overnight — to attain their goal 20 minutes after lunch. England managed only two wickets, both to Dean Headley immediately before the interval.

Only once previously on this ground — and only 20

times in almost 1,400 Tests anywhere — has a larger total been made to win, and it may prove to be a watershed for West Indian cricket. This was a game they could ill afford to lose in the aftermath of their Pakistan disaster, the fiasco at Sabina Park and with a new captain straining for credibility on his home turf. Trinidad requires little encouragement for excess at this carnival time of year and the toast was Carl Hooper and the diminutive wicketkeeper David Williams. Trinidadian himself, their sixth-wicket partnership of 129 had carried West Indies to within spitting distance of victory.

Cool Carl, vice-captain now

and with the responsibilities that go with it, cast off his impetuous role to bat for 10 minutes short of six hours in making an unbeaten 94.

Faced with a pitch that had dominated the game and on which no batsman felt secure, he compiled a chanceless innings. He hit the winning runs with a chase down the pitch to catch Phil Tufnell's looping spin on the full and ease it past mid-off. It was his 10th boundary and, with a nice symmetry, virtually a replica of his first, struck almost 24 hours previously.

Hooper raised his arms wearily in triumph, took the acclaim and strode off into a bear-hug from Brian Lara. "As long as Carl was there I thought we were going to win," said Lara. "He came in at lunch and said if he was there at the end it would be

the best innings he had ever played. I think it was."

For 220 minutes Williams kept Hooper company and, if England failed to take two chances from him and twice also had good shouts for leg-before ignored by Steve Bucknor, he showed guts beyond the call, an organised technique and, when presented with the chance on leg stump, no little flair. His 65 was far and away the highest score of his brief Test career. When he was out, West Indies needed only 28 more.

England will think hard about a game that yet again slipped from their grasp. There will be a temptation to blame a venue where they were denied from strong positions on their last two tours. But history is irrelevant and, in any case, they have to return here on Friday for the third Test. Mike Atherton, drained in defeat, confessed the game had been "thrown away". He was not wrong.

When the fourth day began, England were 242 ahead, on a poor pitch with six second-in-

nings wickets in hand. That should have been their springboard. But they collapsed against Curtly Ambrose armed with an old ball and then, when the indefatigable Angus Fraser had pulled them back into the match, allowed the fish to slip from the hook.

Fraser's contribution was immense, from his stout 90-minute rearguard in England's first innings to his magnificent eight for 53 in the first innings and his three wickets in the second. With 11 for 110 in the match, he did not deserve to lose. Yet the paradox is that he might have

won the game with the first ball of the day yesterday. It was a looser, which Williams chipped gently back to the bowler's right. Fraser stuck out a huge hand but the ball tumbled to earth.

Later, with 75 still needed, Jack Russell, whose errors have cost England dearly in the Caribbean in the past, missed Williams down the leg side in Fraser's first over with the new ball. Had the second chance been taken, England ought to have won; had the first stuck, there is little doubt they would.

Perhaps the most poignant comment on the day, however, came when Atherton, with 11 runs needed and all patience lost with his other seamers, called Fraser back for a final fling. His first ball kept low, scuttled through to Russell, who then let it through his legs. The ball hit Russell's helmet, placed on the ground behind him, and five byes were the result.

England will think hard about a game that yet again slipped from their grasp

Moorcroft may quit in November

Duncan Mackay

DAVID Moorcroft, the man hailed as the saviour of British athletics, has warned he may walk away from the sport in November. The former world 5,000 metres record holder is head of UK Athletics 98, the organisation trying to find a way of replacing the insolvent British Athletic Federation, and it is due to present its findings in nine months.

"I see this as a one-year project," he said. "I shall decide in November whether I still want to be involved. It's not been fun but fulfilling in a strange sort of way."

Moorcroft is worried about Andy Norman, the former BAF promotions officer who was sacked in 1994 after being indecently linked with the suicide of the Sunday Times journalist Cliff Temple.

Moorcroft is negotiating with AFI, the sport's market-

ing agents, over who should run Britain's international meetings during the summer. But Alan Pascoe, the founder of AFI, is a long-time associate of Moorcroft, and Moorcroft fears that Norman may be re-employed to organise the events.

Norman is currently working as an athletics agent and represents many of Britain's top athletes, including Jonathan Edwards and Kelly Holmes. He is also employed as a consultant for Channel 4 and is promoter of several meetings abroad.

Temple was Moorcroft's official biographer and a close friend, and Moorcroft spoke out strongly against Norman after Temple's suicide.

"I have to separate my personal and professional feelings," Moorcroft said. "We are discussing a number of issues which need to be addressed. Andy once had a role in athletics but he no longer has the role he had before."

Stamp, shout and scream and definitely smash a few ornaments. That's what you should do when the love of your life breaks your heart.
Health advice for Valentine's Day

G2 page 10

Brazil lose their rhythm and wives



Jim White

THINGS are beginning to get a bit tense in Brazil's football. Just as the Carnival samba schools loosen their hips for the annual sashay down Rio's high street, representatives of the world's most flamboyant footballing nation have gone all Presbyterian.

The national coach Mario Zagallo, alarmed after his side's failure to beat Jamaica in the Concacaf Gold Cup in Los Angeles — that the boys from Brazil are adopting too relaxed a spirit, has issued a Draconian code of conduct for them. This set of 14 commandments is of a kind more usually associated with teams from behind the old iron curtain, or sides managed by George Graham, rather than those from a country whose footballers like to hold one another's hands on their way out to play.

Zagallo, clearly believing that the best teams in the world have emanated from monasteries, begins by insisting that, during tournaments from now on, his players must not fraternise with wives and girlfriends — and that includes other people's wives and girlfriends.

Imagine if Glenn Hoddle — not, if recent legal activity is to be believed, a man averse to a bit of fraternisation — told his side to keep away from women. No Posh for Becky, no Louise for Jamie, there would be pop starlets weeping in studios up and down the land at a total bird exclusion zone here, though Sheryl Gascoigne would probably endorse the boss on that one.

Perhaps anticipating trouble, Zagallo has also told his notoriously opinionated charges that there will be no arguing with the management. And, no doubt motivated by self-preservation and recognising that the professional footballer's idea of a rigorous exchange of views is to cut the toes out of a colleague's socks and fill his jock strap with liniment, his rules include the proscription of all practical jokes.

This is a policy which, if adopted by England, would remove the purpose of picking Paul Gascoigne, whose main role in a national squad now appears to be the lifting of

team spirit by use of jocular belches and strategically placed buckets of urine.

Zagallo has also instructed his players to be nice to the media. Hoddle is far too wise to follow suit, aware as he is that England's most successful morale-building technique is to take a lesson from the Alex Ferguson school of siege mentality and cast the media as the enemy.

During Italia 90 the England team's success was born less of strategic brilliance or on-pitch artistry than of a determination to stick two fingers up to those who had written them off as a bunch of brick-brained no-hopers.

Besides, any wise boss will remember the example of Graham Taylor, who came into office with a similar media-friendly policy. Look where that landed him: cast by the very people he was trying to accommodate as the first root vegetable to manage a national football team.

But of Zagallo's 14 rules the most inhuman is to ban his players from using mobile phones during the tournament. Has he any idea of the psychological damage this will do to his side? How does he think his lads will keep in touch with updates from their financial advisers? Does he really believe that the modern professional should have to queue at a pay phone to take advantage of a fast-breaking share opportunity?

One can only imagine that half the Brazilian squad, the moment they learn that their umbilical cord to the outside world has been severed, will do a Chris Sutton and absent themselves from combat.

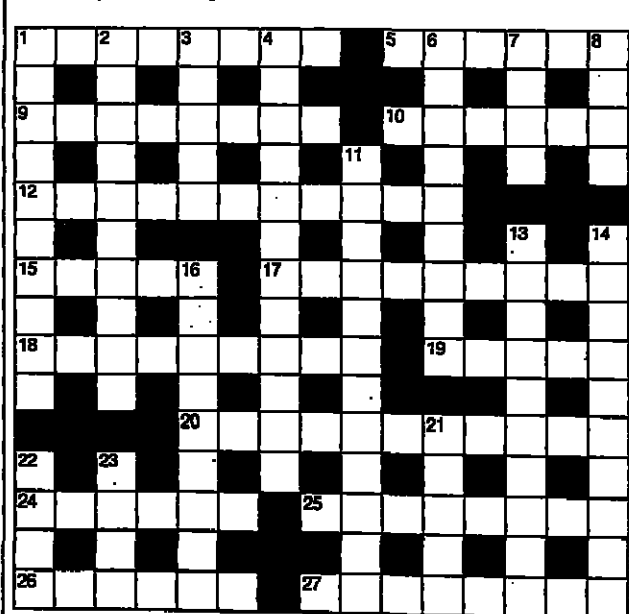
BRAZIL's self-induced turmoil will have added to the sense of frustration felt this morning by all those Scottish Labour MPs 18 years in opposition and the best opportunity to enjoy the trappings of power is snatched from them by their leader who, in the spirit of Zagallo, came over all self-righteous last weekend and banned his squad of MPs from accepting free tickets to any World Cup match.

So there will the Scots be, lining up in the opening game of France 98 against the demoralised, frustrated, mobile-free Brazilians, and the only representatives from the House of Commons in the stadium to watch what could be the upset of the century will be half a dozen gloating English Tories, parliamentarians genetically obliged never to turn down a freebie. In Westminster, as in Rio, the honeymoon is over.

Pass notes, G2, page 3

Guardian Crossword No 21,194

Set by Fawley

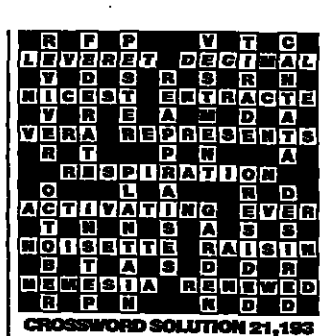


Across

- 1 About to enquire about... Shed's puzzle, in a position to take notes (4,4)
- 5 Jack begins to lounge about with current flame (6)
- 9 Love tucking into pasta — not one for sweet food (6)
- 10,12 Savoury dish uses hot seasoning and 'kosher' bacon? That's daft! (5-2-9)
- 15 Culver with emotion, seen in bathrobe (5)
- 17 It's simple — animal trainer's gone back in too early... (9)
- 18 ... maybe part of circus crew, I agree, got silly (9)
- 19 Going in and out of the sea (5)
- 20,24 Entirely pirate range of goods, kinds near needing replacement (4,4,3,6)

Down

- 1 Open land — stretch on regular beat (6,4)
- 2 Odd case involving cleaner, popular and very sweet (10)
- 3 Nothing missed by more obstinate German artist (5)
- 4 Spin doctor should be politically correct (12)
- 6 Pause, introducing quick toast, perhaps (9)
- 7 A cricket team's spinner must have one (4)
- 8 Time to abandon curt language (4)



CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,193

- 11 Cake, one with different topping, very sharp-tasting (8,4)
- 13 Court, terribly grand, with roughly equal borders (10)
- 14 Good-looking, scoffing candy, ruined sexy act (5,5)
- 16 VIP, very popular, has a word that makes you smile (3,6)
- 21 Biblical character with human failing (5)
- 22 Seemingly a bit of a scruff, is always pulled up (2,2)
- 23 Presently being short with unknown writer (4)

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